

OUTLINES OF MODERN EUROPE

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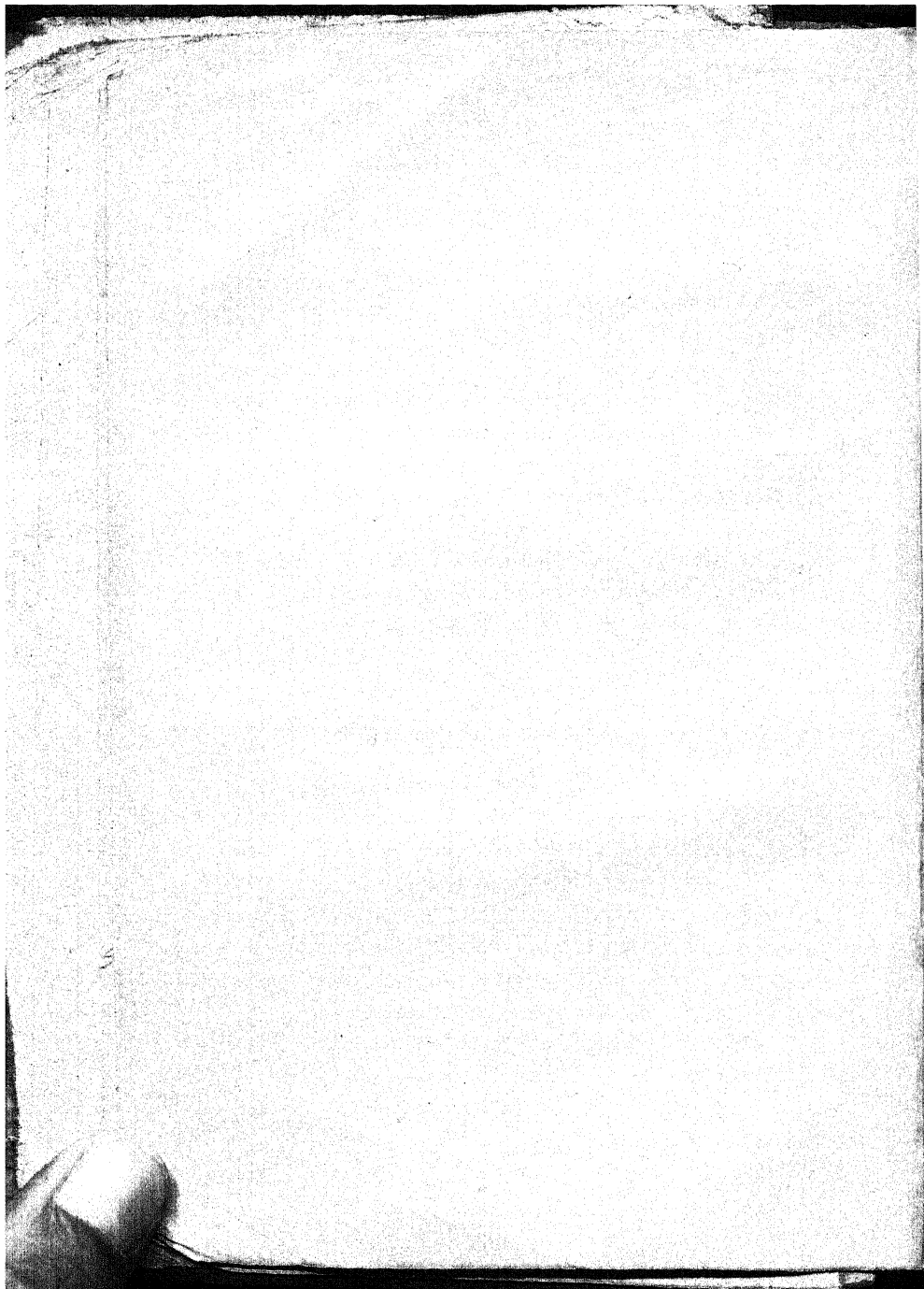
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Dedicated to
THE HON'BLE JUSTICE
SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,

Saraswati, Shastra-Vachaspati,
Sambuddhagama-Chakravarti,
Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., D.Sc., F.R.S.E.,
F.R.S.B.,

Ex-Vice-Chancellor
OF THE
CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

WITH
Kind Permission.



PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

European history, above all things, furnishes us with ample illustrations of the course of development which nations pass through in working out their destiny. The principles of government mark the line of such developments, and the noble art of statesmanship works it out. The growth of political life and the development of freedom, the two bases of civilization, have never been so fully worked out as in the history of 'Modern' Europe.

The high degree of civilization attained by the Romans in 'Ancient' Europe was snapped at the root by complete demoralisation of the nation ; the long Imperial rule took away the last vestige of political freedom and the society was debased by corruptions and vices. Thus all Europe plunged into darkness and individual liberty came to an end. The Middle Ages, as Mr. Bryce points out, were 'essentially unpolitical.'

One redeeming feature, however, of the early Middle Ages was the spread of Christianity under the guidance of Rome. The influence gained in this direction was immense and Rome for sometime was able to keep up the fiction of the Universal State under the name of the Holy Roman Empire. But the Holy Roman Empire never became a reality through the rivalry between the Emperors and the Popes, and ultimately both came into disgrace.

The year 1453 brought the Eastern Empire to an end and substituted in its place the Turks who became a first rate European power. This opened up the eyes of all Europe to the true state of things and the movement of the Renaissance or New Birth of Learning in Italy chastened

the views of men, encouraged freedom of thought, and, from the degenerate state of things in the Middle Ages, evolved the 'Modern' Age of light and refinement. A careful study of the Modern European history, therefore, helps us to read the momentous signs of the political life of to-day.

In this humble work, I have attempted to present before the young Indian readers of the European history a broad outline of the history of Modern Europe, omitting no important details. I shall deem my labours amply rewarded if it can satisfy those for whom it is intended.

. . . Lastly, I may, perhaps be permitted here to express my special indebtedness to my affectionate cousin, Babu Sachindranath Dutta, B.A., without whose valuable assistance and encouragement the book would never have seen the light. . . .

CALCUTTA :

July, 1914.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

The first edition of the book being received favourably, not only by the students and professors of the Calcutta University but also by those of the Allahabad University, I am bringing out this second edition in a thoroughly revised and modified form. The new feature of this edition is the addition of a full marginal analysis. Chapter III. of Book V. is altogether newly written. The 'Austro-Hungarian Dualism' has also been carefully explained.

I cannot but here express my satisfaction for being permitted to associate my humble work with the name of Sir Ashutosh Mukerjee, Kt. who during his Vice-Chancellor-

ship of the Calcutta University really inaugurated a new era in the study of History and in its research.

Calcutta, Sept. 1916.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

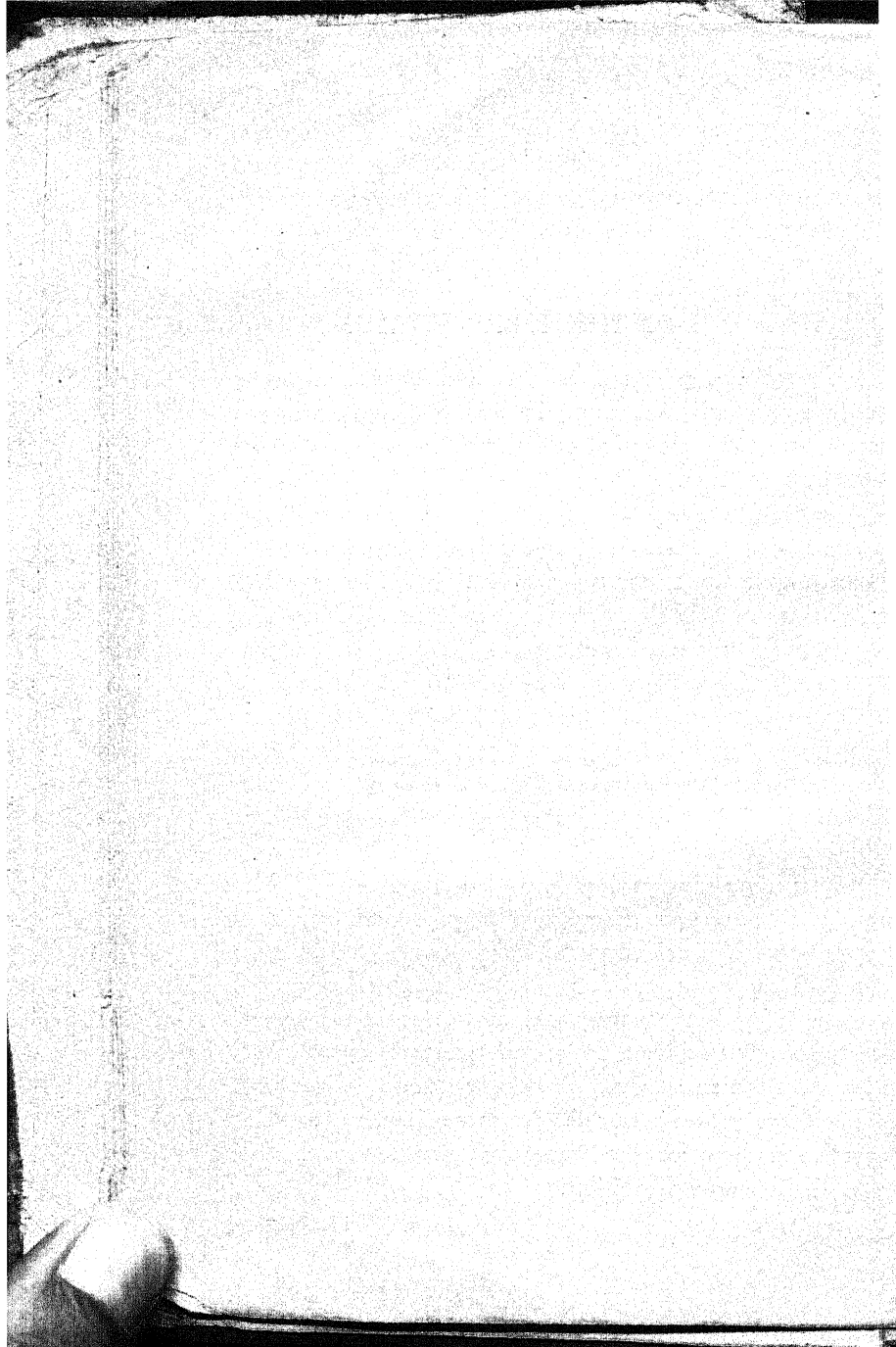
Although the previous edition had been completely exhausted in April last, I could not manage, owing to personal difficulties, to bring out the present one, for which I beg to be excused by my kind readers. In this edition, I have re-written several chapters and made some additions and alterations in order to make the book more up to date. Further I have appended six Genealogical Tables, which I believe are absolutely necessary even for an elementary study of the European history.

A word or two by way of caution to the students. It has never been my intention to encourage cramming among them, but to present the subject in the most simple, lucid, and attractive way possible, so that they may be led on from this little book to study the special texts relating to the period recommended to them.

While compiling and revising this little book, I have carefully consulted the general works on European History by such authorities as Adams, Dyer, Grant, Hassall, Lodge, Robinson, Thatcher and Schwill, &c., the few volumes of Cambridge Modern History and of Periods of European History, as also various other special works on the different periods, for which I should express my deep obligation to those authors and editors. At the same time, I cannot but thank the readers for the generous way in which they received the previous edition.

Calcutta, Sept., 1918.

D. N. DUTT.



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OUTLINES OF MODERN EUROPE.

INTRODUCTION.

Unity of History :

THE study of History is the study of Man as a political and social being, and is one study. There can be no division in it. Freeman aptly puts it "As man is the same in all ages, the history of Man is one in all ages". The history of Man is an unbroken whole, no part of which can be rightly understood without reference to others. There can be no proper line of demarcation, no special method, to make the so-called 'Ancient' history a separate study from the history of the 'Modern' times. No one can thus deny the great fact of the *Unity of History*, and any attempt in its division is always arbitrary and, if rigidly interpreted, misleading.

Meaning of
the unity of
History.

The history of the European nations, their institutions, their relations with one another, all form a long series of cause and effect, and to understand even a part of it rightly, we cannot ignore any other part. Thus the student of European history "*must take in all history within his range.*" But at the same time it is beyond human power to be equally familiar with each and every part of it, and hence each student chooses a particular period or

Origin of the
traditional
divisions in
European
history.

country for his special and minute study. Thus has originated the traditional divisions in European history noticed below, which, however, do not in any way affect its essential unity.

Periodical Divisions in European History :

Ancient
Age.

Mediæval
Age.

Modern
Age.

European history is divided into *three periods viz.*, Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern. The first one begins from the dawn of civilization and is said to end with the commencement of the migration of the Teutonic races in 375 A.D. The Mediæval period thus commences from the Teutonic migration in 375 A.D., but it is rather difficult to fix any absolute date of its close, as opinions differ on the point. Some historians take the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 A.D., others the Discovery of America in 1492 A.D., for the purpose. Both are events of transcendent importance ; but we cannot definitely say whether the finding of the New World made the new age, or the new age discovered the New World. Hence it is safe to begin the Modern period from 1453 A.D. which continues till the present time.

Contrast between Mediæval and Modern Europe :

I. Political :

Conception
of the state.

The
commune.

(a) The Middle ages knew nothing of the modern conception of the State as a nation ; the political unit was neither large, nor fixed as it is now. The feudal lord and his vassals were bound together by the mutualities of service and defence. The commune or guild, with some sort of independent municipal government, was another important feature in mediæval politics.

(b) Theoretically, the unit of mediæval politics embraced the whole of Christendom as represented by the Holy Roman Empire. This fiction of an Empire could not in fact be long maintained owing to the separation of the Church and the State, and to the constant quarrel between the Pope and the Emperor which weakened both of them. The Holy Roman Empire.

II. Social :

(a) The unit of society in the Middle ages was not the individual as in modern times, but the family, guild, or corporation. The individual was powerless, unless he could assert himself holding some high office in the Church or in the State. The family or guild as the unit of Society.

(b) Besides, in art, literature, language, philosophy and commercial principles there were marks of wide difference between the two periods. Progress of arts and letters.

Fall of Constantinople and its Effects on the European Situation :

The Turkish Sultan Mahomed II defeating and killing Constantine, the last of the Greek Emperors, captured Constantinople which had been the capital of the Eastern Empire (1453). Capture of Constantinople. 1453 A.D. This event serves as a convenient land-mark to demarcate the Mediæval from the Modern period in European history, even though the transition from the Middle ages was a continuous process going on in the 14th and 15th centuries.

Henceforth a curtain falls on the nations of antiquity, and the Turks, finally settling themselves in Europe, soon become a first rate European Power, and constantly begin to Its effects :
(a) The Turkish menace to Christian power.

(b) Spread
of Greek
culture.

(c) Revival
of Com-
merce.

(d) The
Voyages of
Discovery.

(e) The
Inventions.

menace the Christian kingdoms. The establishment of the Turks in Greece led Greek literature and culture to migrate towards the West, and learning, so long confined to matters concerning religion only, came to comprise everything human. The monopoly of trade in the Levant as well as with India and the East so long retained by Venice, which had made her rich, received a death-blow in the hands of the Turks, who soon conquered Messopotamia, Syria and Egypt and began to control the Eastern commercial land-route. As a natural consequence, voyages of discovery were undertaken to find out new commercial routes to the East; Christopher Columbus who discovered the New world (1492), Vasco da Gama who made a journey round the cape of Good Hope (1498), and Magellan who circumnavigated the Globe in 1522, appeared as the heroes of human progress in the 15th century. The growth of this passion of discovery among the chief European nations opened up to them new fields for trade and commerce, and they now began to show a zeal for christianising, governing, and colonising those new countries; Spain and Portugal took a leading part in this new movement, though England, France, and Holland joined late. The invention of gun-powder altogether altered the conditions of war, and the invention of the art of printing opened up a new world of thought and action and helped the growth of freedom of thought and individual liberty.

The Transition and its leading features :

The noticeable features of the transition from the Mediæval to the Modern period are :—

(1) *Decline of the Empire and the Papacy :*

Philip IV of France defeated Pope Boniface VIII whose successor Clement V transferred his seat from Rome to Avignon (in France), where he became a tool in the hands of the French king. In 1377, there were two Popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome. This division of the Papacy raised doubts in the minds of men as regards the spiritual supremacy of the Pope, paving thereby the way to the great religious revolution in the 16th century, *viz.*, the *Reformation*. The Papacy made a feeble attempt to recover its authority in 1499, and henceforth sank into mere temporal headship of the states of the Church.

The power of the Empire weakened by long struggle with the Papacy.

(2) *Rise of the People as a political force :*

Many great popular movements took place in the 14th century in Germany, the Netherlands etc. The peasants of the Swiss cantons defeated the Austrian Emperor at *Morgarten* in 1315 and continuing the struggle till 1386, secured their independence in the battle of *Sempach* and formed the famous Swiss Federal Republic. Flanders and France followed their example, though they were less successful. The Lollards in England stirred up the peasants into revolt under Wat Tyler in 1381, leading to the end of the villeinage. The famous Hussite movement in Bohemia (Austria) to proselytise by force the whole of Germany and then Europe, though ended in a failure, is no less an instance of the rise of the power of the people. Thus with the rise of the people in the 14th and 15th centuries a tendency began to break up the old political forms.

The power of the people rising into prominence as evidenced in the popular movements of the time.

(3) *Rise of Nations :*

Feudalism had divided the European society into the nobles, the

The growth of Nationalism as a consequence of the gradual weakening of class distinctions.

knights, and the common people, but it ended with the rise of the lower classes by trade and industry, and common interests knit together the inhabitants of certain countries to oppose the class interests of those which had kept them divided e.g. the union between England and Flanders during the Hundred Years' War which created the French nation and consolidated England. The common danger arising from the Moors in Spain led to an union of the Spanish people into one nation. Thus with the gradual weakening of class distinctions as a consequence of the rise of the people, an unity of interests was noticeable which led to the formation of the European nations.

The growing despotism of the kings in alliance with the people leading to the suppression of the nobles.

(4) *Rise of Monarchy*: The rise of the people and the elimination of class interests helped the growth of a central monarchical authority. In France, the king allying with the people or the *Third Estate*, suppressed the nobles and began a despotic sway over all classes. This tendency of royal despotism is also traceable in England, though with a different result. There the Church sided with the Crown against the preachings of the Lollards, and the Wars of the Roses destroyed the nobility; as the Commons were powerless, it was possible for the Tudor kings to rule despotically. In Spain, after defeating the Moors, Charles V and his son Philip II established despotic authority which was directed later against the traditional liberties in Holland and Germany in the 16th century.

Epochs in Modern History:

For the sake of convenience we may divide the history of Modern Europe into the following five epochs:—

(I) The *Era of Transition* or Europe from 1453 to 1519 ; during this period we notice all the European states attempting to form a political unity among themselves in order to break through the oppressive bondage of the Mediæval system. 1. Era of Transition,
1453-1519.

(II) The *Era of Reformation* or Europe from 1519 to 1648 ; during this period the question of religious reform, as inaugurated by Luther, comes to the forefront, and all the governments are perplexed to conform themselves to the new situation. After much bloodshed between the champions of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, these religious disputes were settled in the Peace of Westphalia. This peace also settled some of the political problems of the time. The religious wars were not only due to the spiritual needs of humanity, but were inspired by the financial, industrial and political interests of the different nations. "The Reformation was, in fact, a political necessity and national churches were the inevitable counterparts of nation-states." 2. Era of Reformation,
1519-1648.

(III) The *Era of Absolutism* or Europe from 1648 to 1719 ; during the time the European nations generally adopted the political doctrine of Absolutism, and for the sake of territorial aggrandisement became involved in wars with each other. The two tendencies of absolutism and self-aggrandisement, at no other period, stood so prominently, and side by side, in the forefront of European politics. 3. Era of Absolutism,
1648-1719.

(IV) The *Era of Revolution* or Europe from 1719 to 1815 ; this period opens with the momentous revolution in France which gave birth to the political theory of the Sovereignty 4. Era of Revolution,
1719-1815.

of the People, as opposed to the principle of Absolutism adopted in the preceeding age.

5. Era of Reconstruction;
1815—

(V) The *Era of Reconstruction* or Europe from 1815 to the modern-times; during this period we notice the *governments* of Europe anxious to return to the pre-revolutionary conditions and adopting a conservative policy at the Congress of Vienna, which led to a further conflict between the principles of absolutism and the expanding ideas of liberty of the *people*. This conflict resulted in a compromise, establishing the principles of constitutionalism and the reconstruction of the states on a new *national* basis.

General character of these epochs.

Each of these epochs adopted some general political principle for the purpose of administration and continued the work towards the same end, though in new spheres and under different conditions.

The great lesson of Modern History :

Growth of the liberty of conscience, and of political freedom.

We learn from Modern European history how the Mediæval conditions of life and thought have been modified, how the *Soul* has come to be considered as more sacred than the *State*, and, how *liberty of conscience* has been developed and as a consequence of it *political freedom* has been secured, extended, and finally understood.

BOOK I.
THE ERA OF TRANSITION.
1453—1519.

CHAPTER I.

**European States in the latter half of the
Fifteenth century.**

I. Italy :

The different states in Italy subject to the Holy Roman Empire, could not be controlled by the central authority of the Emperor as they were situated at a great distance from the capital seat of the Emperor. Consequently the leading states in Italy *viz.*, Milan, Naples, the Papal states, Florence, Venice, began to rule in their own way and to struggle with one another for their respective ambitions.

Absence of political unity in the different states.

(a) Milan :

Francesco Sforza, a soldier of fortune, conquered Milan (1447) overthrowing the Viscontis. Securing his kingdom from the attacks of Venice, he devoted himself to the peaceful government of his duchy. He next conquered Genoa (1464) with the help of France. His son Galeazzo Sforza ruled despotically for ten years, (1466-76) after which he was assassinated. The Regent of the minor prince Gian Galeazzo was put to death at the instigation of the king of Naples, and Lodovico Sforza, uncle of the prince, an instrument of Naples, became

The rule of the Sforzas.

regent, whose attempt to make himself Duke with the help of France brought ruin upon himself and upon Italy.

(b) Naples:

The Spanish
rule over
Naples
begins with
Alfonso V.

Final
annexation
of Naples
by Spain
after a
struggle
with France :
1503.

Naples and Sicily had been united under Norman rule in the 11th century. The revolt in Sicily in 1282, known as the *Sicilian Vespers*, drove the French from the island which next passed under Spain. Alfonso V, the king of Spain (Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia), became king of Naples (1435) after a long and successful contest with Rene, the last representative of the French dynasty in Italy. He was a great patron of literature and arts and earned the title of "the Magnanimous" for his diligent pursuits of peace. Before his death, he divided his dominions between his brother John (who obtained the Spanish possessions), and his natural son, Ferdinand (who became king of Naples). Soon however, Naples became a bone of contention between France and Spain till after a long struggle it was definitely annexed by Spain in 1503 (*Vide Bk. I. Ch. II.*) of which it remained a part till the Treaty of Utrecht (1713).

(c) The Papal States:

The temporal dominions of the Pope included Rome, Romagna, and Ancona, which were the donations, real or pretended, from the Roman Emperors and Frankish kings. The Papal authority was reduced to a shadow when the Popes withdrew to Avignon (in France). After the Great Schism (1378-1477), Pope Martin V re-established his authority at Rome, but his successor Eugenius IV was driven out by the Colonnas, the most powerful noble family of the city; the papal legates however succeed-

ed to reduce Rome. Pope Nicholas V tried to restore the image of a republic with the help of Porcaro which ended in a failure (1458). Henceforth the Popes, during their short tenure, tried to advance the interests of their families, and thus nepotism was carried to an extreme. The morality of the Popes became so low that Innocent VIII (1484-92) did not hesitate to acknowledge his natural sons. His successor Alexander VI with the help of his unscrupulous son **Cæsar Borgia**, had the petty tyrants of his states massacred and established a mastery over the hereditary dominion of St. Peter. **Cæsar Borgia**, who aimed at forming a great secular power out of the states of the Church, conquered the petty principalities of central Italy with the aid of the French troops, and did not scruple to remove by poison or dagger any one of his adherents even, who was supposed to stand in his way. After Alexander's death Cæsar's attempt to secure a Pope of his own choice failed, and being imprisoned he was compelled to surrender his territories to Pope Julius II. Pope Julius II (1503-13) and his successor Leo X (1513-21), were great patrons of arts and letters though not great spiritual lights.

States of the Church acquire solidarity and the Popes become territorial magnates.

Cæsar Borgia helps the unity of central Italy.

(d) *Florence* :

Florence, the home of republican liberty in the 14th century, had during the next century lost her free constitution under the Albizzis.

The rule of the Medici.

Cosimo de Medici (1438-64) overthrew the Albizzi family taking up the cause of the lower classes, and established a sort of enlightened despotism. The Medici never forgot that their power was due to their championship of democratic equality and hence they were careful

Their domestic policy—enlightened despotism.

Foreign
policy—
Balance
of Power
in Italy.

Attempts of
Savonarola
to establish
a republic
failed.

enough to exercise their authority without colliding with the prejudices of the mass. Maintaining friendly relations with Milan and Naples, Cosimo acted as a mediator in Italian politics. His son Piero (1464-69) suppressed a rebellion instigated by Venice. Lorenzo, the son of Piero, (1469-92) followed the peace-policy of his grandfather by maintaining the alliance with Naples and Milan. Pope Sixtus IV wanted to destroy the Medician supremacy at Florence and thus disturbed the balance of power in Italy. Hence Lorenzo, an advocate of peace, maintained the Medician supremacy and Italian balance of power by concluding a treaty with Ferdinand of Naples. An enlightened despot and able diplomatist though Lorenzo was, he helped to degrade the political life of Italy by sweeping away all the popular forms of Florentine freedom. Though Florence became the foremost city in his age as the nursery of literature and arts, her commercial supremacy began to decline from his time. His son, Piero, became an open despot and departed from the traditional policy of maintaining the balance of power in Italy, by identifying his interests wholly with Naples and thereby alienating Milan at a time when there was every chance of an invasion of Italy either from France or from Spain. In spite of the Medician despotism in Florence, the people longed for the republic and taking up the opportunity of the invasion of Charles VIII (1495) rose against the tyrants and re-established a republic under the guidance of a pious monk and a great reformer Savonarola. But in 1498 Savonarola, at the intrigues of his enemies, was burnt at the stake and Medician supremacy was restored in 1512.

(e) Venice :

The most prominent of the Italian states in the 15th century was Venice, 'the Queen of the Adriatic'. Her government was a close and suspicious oligarchy. Power was confined to certain families whose names were inscribed in the 'Golden Book.' The executive council of ten members was all powerful. The Doge of Venice was the nominal president with powers extremely limited.

The constitution of Venice.

The power of Venice was due to her vast commerce and territorial possessions. Before the rise of the Turks, the Venetians had a monopoly of commerce in the Levant as well as with India and the East through the ports of Egypt, Syria, and Greece. In 1453 Constantinople fell, and in 1461 the Turks conquered Morea and a greater part of Greece. Venice resisted the progress of the Turks but meeting with many reverses in the war that followed, concluded the disgraceful *Treaty of Constantinople* (1479), by which she surrendered most of her territorial possessions and agreed to hold the rest as tributaries of the Sultan. Thus repulsed by the Turks, Venice entered upon a policy of self-aggrandisement in Italy, incited the Turks to attack Naples, and in 1482 with the support of the Pope began an unprovoked war against her neighbour, the Duke of Ferrara. It was through the influence of Lorenzo de Medici of Florence that the balance of power in Italy was restored by his coalition with Naples and Milan. Moreover, the discovery of the cape-route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 drew off the oriental commerce to Spain and Portugal, dealing a death-blow to the Venetian commercial prosperity. Thus began the decline of Venice, but

The greatness of Venice begins to decline with the advent of the Turks.

The self-aggrandising policy and the discovery of the cape-route leads to the decay of Venice.

the republic continued its existence till Napoleon ended it in 1797.

2. Germany :

Her Constitution :

The central authority vested in an elected king.

The German king was elected by seven Electors—Archbishops of Mainz, Koln, and Trier, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Saxony, Margrave of Brandenburg, and King of Bohemia. The elected king was called the King of the Romans, and after his coronation by the Pope he was recognised as the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire.

The Emperor bound to consult the DIET consisting of three chambers.

The German *Diet* or assembly had three chambers; first, composed of the six Electors, the king of Bohemia being excepted ; second, composed of ecclesiastics and lesser princes ; and the third, composed of the deputies of the Free Imperial cities. The Diet was the legislative body of the Empire, with which the Emperor was bound to consult.

Want of her Political Unity :

Its reasons :

(a) Practical independence of the Electors :

The authority of the Emperor was very weak, owing to the practical independence of the subordinate princes or Electors who extorted concessions from the Emperors, more and more favourable to their independence at the time of their elections .

(b) Selfish policy of the third chamber :

The third chamber was looked down upon by the other two chambers, and it being driven to despair pursued selfish policies, standing in the way of Germanic unity.

(c) Indifference and high-handedness of the RITTERS.

Besides, there was a class of nobles—*Ritters*—who being excluded from the Diet, had no interest in the general welfare of the Empire. They lived in isolated castles, orga-

nised a regular system of highway robbery, and kept the country in a state of chronic anarchy.

Frederic I, the first Hohenzollern Margrave of Brandenburg, tried to maintain the unity of Germany by organising a standing army, a regular system of assembly, and a system of common taxation, but he failed. With the election of Albert of Austria as Emperor (1438), the monarchy became hereditary in the House of Hapsburgs and strong ; but this family looked to dynastic interests only and did nothing to promote Germanic unity. German disunion and discords led to the falling away of outlying territories of the Empire. Italy was gone before the accession of Frederic III ; the Swiss cantons became independent as a federal republic in 1486 ; the Hanseatic League of the commercial towns in the north had become too powerful ; the kings of Poland had acquired great part of the territories of the Teutonic knights ; the Dukes of Burgundy had annexed many Imperial provinces to their large French possessions.

Partial
dismember-
ment of the
Empire
under
Frederic III,
1457-93.

So the *Swabian League* was formed to promote general peace. It attempted to decide disputes by arbitration instead of by sword. The immediate object of this league was to check the violences of Albert Duke of Bavaria, by a court of arbitration consisting of princes, knights, and citizens, which it was able to do. This league, in the course of its existence (1488-1533) destroyed 140 strongholds of the nobles and the *Ritters* who opposed the Germanic unity.

Formation
of the
SWABIAN
LEAGUE
to put down
private wars,
1488.

Emperor Maximilian (1494-1519) :

On the death of Frederic III in 1493, his son

Accession of
Maximilian.

Maximilian, who had already secured the Austrian territories to his father and the succession in Hungary and Bohemia to the Hapsburgs, came to the throne. In 1502 Maximilian assumed the title of Emperor without going through the ceremony of coronation, thus setting an example of independence of Papal authority.

The constitutional
reforms of
Maximilian :

In his reign the last serious attempt was made to remodel the antiquated machinery of the imperial government. In order to raise funds to oppose the French in Italy he summoned the *Diet of Worms* (1495), taking advantage of which the German Estates demanded constitutional reforms. A perpetual public peace was proclaimed and the right of private wars to settle disputes was abolished, and a

(1) The
Imperial
chamber
established.

Court of Appeal for this purpose, called the *Imperial Chamber*, was set up, consisting of a President and sixteen Assessors, the President being nominated by the Emperor and the Assessors by the Diet. Instead of moving with the Emperor, this court was to be fixed at a definite place. By it the unity of the Empire was recognised. A general tax, the *Common Penny*, was imposed. Berthold, the leader of the constitutional party, further secured a council (the Council of Regency) in 1502 consisting of the representatives of the Estates for the administration of political affairs. To enforce the execution of the laws, Germany was divided into ten circles (1512)—Austria, Burgundy

(2) Imposition of the
Common
Penny.

Upper Saxony and Brandenburg, Lower Saxony, Franconia, Swabia, Bavaria, Westphalia, Upper Rhine, and Lower Rhine.

(3) Council
of Regency
set up.

(4) Division
of Germany
into ten
circles.

Foreign
policy of
Maximilian :

His foreign policy was chiefly concerned with Italy and France. In Italy his aim was to make good the ancient imperial claims, but he

miserably failed in almost all his campaigns there. He conducted the quarrel of Charles the Bold of Burgundy with Louis XI of France after Charles's death, because Charles's daughter, Mary, whom he married, was excluded from her father's possessions in France on the plea of the Salic law of succession. Though he could not secure all his father-in-law's dominions in France, he later on acquired Artois and Franché-Comté. He was also the lord of the Netherlands which was one of the possessions of Charles the Bold, his father-in-law, and not a French fief. Again, marrying his son Philip to Joanna, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, he prepared for his descendents the way to Spanish succession. *Thus by a number of matrimonial bargains he contributed much to the advance of the Hapsburgs.* Besides, he did not care to be coronated by the Pope, which he should have done to legalise the title of Emperor he assumed in 1502, and thus set up an example of independence of the Papal authority which was followed by his successor Charles.

(a) failure in Italy ;

(b) partial success in France ;

(c) the Netherlands and Spain secured by policy of marriages.

Thus while the reforms of Maximilian helped much to make a peaceful settlement of the internal discords in the Empire, his foreign policy led to the establishment of a strong monarchy to cope with all difficulties.

Results of his reign.

3. France :

The Capet and Valois Kings :

The power of the early Capet kings was at first confined to Paris, the outlying provinces being ruled by powerful barons who owed a nominal allegiance to their king. The Valois line was established in 1328. The outbreak of Hundred Years' War in France hastened her

The growth of the French monarchy :

King
Charles III
helped
the cause
of the
monarchy.

national unity strengthening the central authority. Charles VII was allowed to organise an army, the *Gens d'Ordonance*, and to levy and collect a perpetual tax, the *Taille*, by the States-General of Orleans (1439). The national representatives thus voluntarily surrendered to the king, the main security of constitutional freedom, namely the control over taxation, and hence it is said "Charles VII, with little ability of his own, was enabled to do more for the monarchy than any of his predecessors." Charles VII died in 1461.

Struggle between Louis XI and Charles the Bold of Burgundy :

Contrast
between
Louis XI
and Charles
the Bold of
Burgundy.

Louis XI, the successor of Charles VII, a royal cynic and a diplomat, was opposed to the spirit of the Middle Ages : while Charles the Bold, the Duke of Burgundy, was sedate and devout, a great admirer of chivalry, and a passionate lover of war.

Quarrel
between
the two :

When the *League of Public Weal*, organised by the nobles to restrict the royal power in France, joined with Charles the Bold to wage war against Louis to curb his growing authority, Louis yielded disgracefully giving concessions to the nobles and Charles. Unable to check the growing power of Burgundy in the field, Louis now took to diplomacy, but he was again compelled to sign an ignominious treaty with them. Next, when Charles tried to extort from the Emperor Frederick III his recognition as an independent king of Burgundy (as he was still nominally vassal of the French king), by attacking Lorraine, a German-speaking province, Louis stirred up the Swiss to resist the Burgundian ambition as dangerous to their liberty. Charles was defeated at *Granson*

and *Morat* by the Swiss and compelled to give back Lorraine. In the midst of his reverses Charles was however killed (1477), to the great joy of Louis.

Louis now resolved to destroy Burgundy altogether, and the Burgundians in their distress, to win the support of the Emperor Frederick III, married Maximilian with Charles's daughter, Mary. The hostility was however closed by the *Treaty of Arras*. Margaret, the daughter of Maximilian, was betrothed to the Dauphin Charles and Burgundy was to form the dowry.

The Treaty of Arras, 1482 and the close of the struggle.

Importance of the reign of Louis XI :

The reign of Louis, though troublous, oppressive, and unhappy for the people had helped much the unity of the nation. "He was the incarnate reaction against the Middle ages, against its morals and its ideality as well as its errors, against its liberties as well as its anarchy." Endowed with a strong instinct for the future, Louis followed no personal end or family end, but had a common end in view and thus wished to leave behind him a work that would last long. The last great revolt of the barons—the war with the *League of Public Weal*—was put down ; Burgundy and Provence were annexed for want of male heirs ; Rousillon was conquered from the king of Aragon which gave him a strong frontier on the side of the Pyreneese ; the help of the Swiss, the first military power of the day, was secured. He suppressed the power of the nobles and placed under the control of the crown a great military force. The lower classes were elevated and the industrial and commercial forces of the country were greatly developed, which contributed much to the *centralisation* of

The reign of Louis XI (1461-83) marks an epoch in the history of France, and in the history of the monarchy.

Centralisation of the

administra-
tion.

the government and consolidation of the kingdom. Though the instruments of autocracy were fortified and perfected by him, his mind was always receptive which helped the growth of national power. He was a patron of letters and science, and the healing art made a rapid progress under him. The development of the art of printing, and the institution of regular posts greatly helped to modernise France, terminating her Middle Ages. He died in 1483.

4. Spain :

Foundation of the Monarchy under Ferdinand and Isabella :

Reasons for
the absence
of the unity
of Spain.

The important provinces of Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal had no unity amongst them, in spite of their long wars with their common foe, the Moors. The destructive quarrels between the nobles and the citizens were fatal to the unity of Spain.

Steps in the
unification
of Spain :

(a) Marriage
of Ferdinand
and Isabella.

(b) Capture
of Granada.

(c) Conquest
of Navarre.

But in 1469, the Crown Prince, Ferdinand of Aragon, was married to Princess Isabella of Castile, and with their accessions to the respective thrones of Aragon and Castile, both the provinces became united. The conquest of Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in the peninsula, by the new monarchs (1492) consolidated the monarchy and gave the Spaniards that martial character which made Spain the foremost European power in the next century. In 1512, Ferdinand the Catholic also conquered Navarre, and the unity of Spain was accomplished.

Steps
in the
expansion :
1. by dis-
covery

(a) The unification of Spain ushered in a period of territorial expansion, and the very year the Moorish strongholds in Spain fell (1492). Columbus discovered and won for Spain the

magnificent dominion of the New World, through the patronage of Queen Isabella. of new territories.

(b) His general Gonsalvo de Cordova conquered Naples (1504) ; and his minister Cardinal Ximenes made an extensive conquest on the Barbaric coast of Africa. 2. by conquest.

(c) Isabella, the first daughter of Ferdinand the Catholic, was married to Alfonso, prince of Portugal, and on his death to his successor Emanuel, thus uniting Portugal with Spain. Ferdinand further strengthened the monarchy, by giving Joanna, his second daughter, in marriage to Philip the only son of Emperor Maximilian, which brought the Spanish crown to the Hapsburgs of Austria. Catharine, his third daughter, was married to Arthur, the English prince, and after his death to his brother Henry VIII who came to be the king of England. Mary, the fourth daughter, was married to Emmanuel, king of Portugal, after the death of his wife Isabella, (first daughter of Ferdinand), in order to keep up the connection with Spain. John, the only son of Ferdinand, was married to Margaret, Maximilian's daughter, who had been formerly betrothed to Charles VIII of France, but he died soon after. Thus by using matrimony as an instrument of foreign policy, Ferdinand was able to extend the Spanish influence in foreign courts. 3. by family alliances :

Character and policy of Ferdinand :

Ferdinand the Catholic was full of avarice, and hypocrisy, which led to the destruction of the spirit of enterprise amongst his people ; but his ability, courteous and energetic nature coupled with Isabella's dignified tastes, her sweetness and moderation of character, led to the union of Characters of Ferdinand and Isabella.

Castile and Aragon and the foundation of a strong monarchy.

The
Inquisition
as a means
of royal
absolutism.

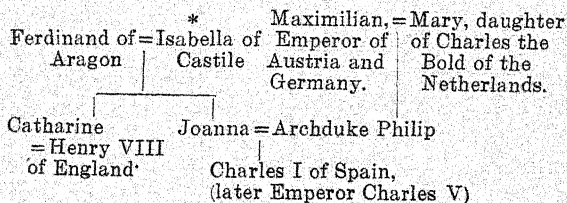
Ferdinand's policy was to base political power upon religious unity. He established the infamous *Inquisition* (1482)—a royal court armed with spiritual weapons—under the authority of a bull of Pope Sixtus IV to suppress heresy in Spain. The Jews and the Moors, the two most progressive and industrial elements of the population of Spain, were systematically persecuted, expelled or crushed. He then checked the power of the nobles by organising a formidable body of police. Thus ably centralising his government, Ferdinand died in 1516.

Early Career of Charles I of Spain (or Emperor Charles V of Germany) :

His birth
and
parentage.

His early
adminis-
trative
measures
in Spain.

Ferdinand was succeeded by Charles, the son of his daughter Joanna.* He was born at Ghent in the Netherlands and ascended the Spanish throne in 1516. Though his education was defective, he had to play an important part in the history of Europe in the first half of the 16th century. After his accession, he unwisely dismissed his father's minister, Cardinal Ximenes, who did so much for the Spanish monarchy, by keeping the Spanish nobles in check when they revolted during the minority of the king as well as by an able management of the wars in



Navarre and Africa. The *Junta*, the formidable league of the Spanish communes, tried to overthrow the monarchy, and Charles suppressed it. On the death of Emperor Maximilian, Charles was also elected Emperor of Germany (1519).

His election as Emperor of Germany, 1519.

Thus the dominions of Charles were more extensive "than any European monarch since Charlemagne had possessed". It comprised the Duchy of the Netherlands, the kingdom of Spain, and the Spanish possessions in Italy and Sicily together with the Spanish colonies in the New World, as well as the kingdoms of Austria, Germany, and their dependencies. His reign is important for his long war with his rival Francis I of France, and his great struggle with the Reform movement in Germany.

The Duchy of the Netherlands.

His extensive dominions.

Importance of his reign.

5. England :

In 1453, the Hundred Year's War with France ended in the defeat of the English under Talbot at *Castillon*, the English only holding Calais and the Channel islands. England next entered into the civil strife, the Wars of the Roses, (1455-85), in which Richard III, the last king of the House of York, was defeated and killed at the battle of *Bosworth*. Henry VII of the Tudor line, a descendant of the Lancastrians, succeeded and married Elizabeth, a daughter of the House of York, thus uniting the two rival houses of York and Lancaster and bringing the domestic strife to an end. He established a strong and almost absolute monarchy in England by curbing the authority of the turbulent nobles, by enforcing the Statute of Livery and Maintenances, by establishing the Court of Star Chamber, and by

Close of the Wars of the Roses, and the beginning of the Tudor despotism.

Character of the reign of Henry VII.

raising money independently of the Parliament through fines and Benevolences. The French designs upon Italy led the Spanish king, Ferdinand the Catholic, to enter into alliance with England, and Catharine, the daughter of the Spanish king, was married to Prince Arthur (the eldest son of Henry VII) and after his death to his brother (Henry VIII) with the sanction of Pope Julius II. Henry VII's daughter, Margaret, was also married to king James IV of Scotland, which paved the way for the future union of the crowns of England and Scotland. Under his son and successor, Henry VIII, England entered definitely into European politics, and after an invasion of France a peace was concluded with her new king Francis I by Chancellor Wolsey. After Ferdinand's death his grandson Charles, the son of Joanna and Philip, became king of Spain and stood as the rival of Francis I of France for supremacy on the continent. Through the ability of Wolsey, England was able to maintain a balance between the two, though she herself gained nothing out of the struggle. The foreign policy of England throughout the reign of Henry VIII was an unprofitable one, though there was a distinct advance in England's position. The wave of the great religious movement, the *Reformation*, reached England during his reign, and Henry played a prominent part in it. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*)

Henry VIII,
and his
minister
Cardinal
Wolsey.

Foreign
policy
of Henry

6. The Ottoman Empire :

The history of Modern Europe begins under the pressure of the Ottoman Turks. Taking advantage of the internal disputes among the Greeks, the Turks first settled in Europe in the

middle of the 14th century. Sultan Mahomed II had conquered Constantinople in 1453, which became the capital of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. He allowed the Greeks to reside in his dominions. In 1451, he was able to conquer Morea and the Greek empire of Trebizond which included Servia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and Bosnia. Then all the Venetian possessions in Greece were conquered by him gradually, though the Venetian commerce was secured by the *Treaty of Constantinople* (1479). The Sultan had trained an immense number of slaves for his civil and military administration: besides the captives in war, a regular tax of children was imposed upon the conquered people and they were rigidly trained to be well-disciplined soldiers and administrators. These soldiers formed the famous corps of the *Janissaries*—long the backbone of the Turkish army and the terror of Europe. With their help, Mahomed led an Italian expedition and captured Otranto which however was lost just after his death in 1481.

Capture of Constantinople, and consolidation of the Empire by Sultan Mahomed II.

His civil and military administration:

The *Janissaries*.

Mahomed's successor, Bajazet II, was averse to war and became unpopular with the *Janissaries* who helped his son Selim I—the idol of the army—to depose Bajazet. Selim extended the empire by the conquests of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. The annexation of Egypt gave the Sultan the *Caliphate* or the spiritual and temporal headship of Islam, and absolute control of the Levant which dealt a death-blow to the Venetian commercial supremacy in the Western Mediterranean. Selim was succeeded by Solyman the Magnificent (1520).

Successors of Mahomed II.

CHAPTER II.

Rival ambitions of France and Spain In Italy.

French Invasion of Naples :

Possible
claimants
to the
throne of
Naples.

Charles
VIII's
invasion
solicited
by the
revolted
nobles of
Naples and
by Lodovico
Sforza of
Milan.

Rapid
success of
Charles VIII
in Italy.

The tyranny of Ferdinand I of Naples and his son provoked a rebellion among the Neapolitan nobles (1485) who intrigued to offer the crown either to Charles VIII of France who had a testamentary claim to the throne of Naples, or to Ferdinand the Catholic, the lawful son of John II, who might rightfully claim the throne against his bastard cousin Ferdinand. Venice, however, fearing any increase of the maritime power of Spain induced the Neapolitans to apply to Charles VIII of France (1492). Again Lodovico Sforza wanted to supplant his nephew, Gian Galeazzo, in the Duchy of Milan, and so he was in search for allies. In Italy, Naples and Florence were thought to be hostile to his scheme, because Naples had family ties with Gian Galeazzo and the Medicis of Florence were the oldest allies of the Sforzas. So Lodovico also sought for French assistance (1493). Charles VIII thus got a golden opportunity of claiming and conquering Naples, when Milan, Venice, and Naples were his allies.

In 1494 Charles VIII appeared in Milan and made Lodovico Duke of Milan. Then he entered Florence as conqueror, unopposed by the Florentines who had driven out the Medicis for their absolutism and who were attached to France for commercial interests and by old Guelf traditions. Next, he entered the Papal

states and compelled the Pope to cede some towns. In Naples Ferdinand I had died (1494); and his son and successor Alfonso II, being nervous at the near approach of Charles VIII, abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand II and fled cowardly. But the Neapolitan nobles, who now openly revolted, drove out Ferdinand II and hailed the French with joy. Charles VIII always fortunate in Italy seized the throne of Naples unopposed.

League against the French Ambitions :

The rapid success and the establishment of the French in Italy alarmed the Italians as well as the foreign states. Milan was claimed by Charles VIII's cousin, Louis of Orleans, as a representative of the old Visconti family. Venice feared the establishment of a powerful state as her neighbour. Emperor Maximilian feared the designs of Charles on his empire. The Pope lamented the cession of his towns to Charles. Ferdinand the Catholic (Spain) burned with anger at the frustration of his claim to Naples and, as king of Sicily, was opposed to the French occupation of Naples. So Milan, Venice, the Pope, Ferdinand of Spain, and Emperor Maximilian formed a league for mutual protection and to drive out the French from Italy. The news of the conclusion of the league at once induced volatile Charles to abandon his conquests and to return to France. The league sent an army to oppose him on the way, and an indecisive battle was fought at *Fornovo* (1495). Charles reached France unmolested, and meanwhile Ferdinand II, the exiled king of Naples, recovered his lost kingdom taking advantage of the reaction against the French. Charles died three years

later and was succeeded by his cousin Louis of Orleans as Louis XII.

Louis XII's Invasion of Italy and the Spanish Conquest of Naples :

Louis XII
conquered
Milan and
arranged
with Spain
for the
partition
of Naples.

On succeeding to the French throne, Louis had two aims in view—to conquer Milan, and to conquer Naples as successor of Charles VIII. He easily won over Venice, Florence and Pope Alexander VI, and appeared in Milan. Lodovico fled and Milan was easily conquered. Shortly after Lodovico was captured, and he died after ten years of imprisonment, paying the penalty for his short-sighted policy in inviting the French into Italy. Having accomplished his first object, Louis now turned to Naples. Ferdinand of Spain who also had a claim to Naples, in order to avoid war with France, concluded a *Treaty at Granada* for such partition of Naples as would be beneficial to both (1500). Thus French and Spanish troops conquered Naples from Ferdinand II who had to die in captivity in France. Now a quarrel, and then a war, took place between France and Spain regarding the partition. Spain however attained success through the military skill of her commander Gonsalvo de Cordova, and annexed Naples (1503). In 1504, another French attempt to recover Naples was also baffled by Gonsalvo.

Louis
expelled
from Naples
by Gonsalvo
de Cordova.

League of Cambray and the French Conquest of Milan :

Pope
Julius II
organised
the League
of Cambray
—a great

Pope Julius II, who cared more for temporal possessions than any of his predecessors, wished to recover all the old papal territories of which the largest portion was in the hands of Venice. The European princes also, for various reasons

looked with jealousy upon Venice. In 1508, Pope Julius organised a *League at Cambray* with powerful rulers like Louis XII, Ferdinand of Spain, Emperor Maximilian to despoil the republic of Venice. The French defeated the Venetians in 1509 and Julius recovered the Papal territories from Venice ; but Venice was saved from ruin owing to a subsequent quarrel among the allies. This league has been said to be a 'great political crime'.

Gaining his object, Pope Julius suddenly turned round to free Italy from the foreigners. In 1510 he detached Ferdinand from the league and directed his hostility against the French. But the Pope became discomfited and the French took Bologna. Louis XII now summoned a general Council at Pisa to depose the Pope. The European princes became dissatisfied at this interference of Louis with ecclesiastical affairs, and the Pope was able to conclude a *Holy League* with the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Spain, Henry VIII of England, and the Swiss (1511). At first the French faught successfully, but after the *Battle of Ravenna* (1512) they were gradually driven out of Italy. With their expulsion the Sforzas were restored by the Swiss to Milan, and the Medicis who had been expelled by their own people during Charles VIII's first Italian campaign were re-established in Florence by Spain. Pope Julius died in 1513 and Louis followed him in 1515.

Francis I the successor of Louis XII of France, determined to reconquer Milan. With the help of the Venetians, he suddenly attacked Milan and defeating the Swiss at the *battle of Marignano* (1515) conquered Milan. The Sforzas retired with a pension to France. This third

The Council
at Pisa
and the Holy
League.

The French
lost Milan.

Francis I
invaded
Italy and
reconquered
Milan.

Treaty
between
Francis
and Leo X.

conquest of Milan by France for sometime closed the Italian wars which had begun in 1494. Francis entered into a treaty with Pope Leo X which restored Parma and Piacenza to Milan.

Treaty
between
Francis and
Charles
of Spain.

Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain became afraid of the re-establishment of the French in Italy and thought of forming a new league against France, but he died shortly after (1516). Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand, who succeeded to the Spanish throne concluded with Francis a *Treaty at Noyon* which gave Italy a brief interval of peace.

BOOK II.

THE ERA OF REFORMATION.

CHAPTER I.

Struggle between France and the Hapsburgs.

Periods of the Struggle :

The history of the struggle falls into three well-marked periods—(1) from the campaign in Navarre (1520) to the treaty of Cambray (1529) ; (2) from the conquest of Savoy (1536) to the treaty of Crespy (1544) ; from the treaty of Augsburg (1555) to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1558). During the first two periods the struggle took place between the two young and ambitious princes Francis I and Charles, the successors of Louis XII and Ferdinand the Catholic on the French and Spanish thrones respectively. In the third period the contest lay between Henry II, son and successor of Francis I of France, and Philip II, son and successor of Charles I of Spain.

First period
1520-29 ;
Second
period
1536-44 ;
Third period
1555-58.

Causes of the Quarrel :

(1) Francis I of France and Charles I of Spain became rivals for the imperial dignity of Germany ; and in 1519, Charles I of Spain was elected Emperor (Charles V) of Germany. This failure of Francis made him an enemy of Charles.

Rivalry for
the imperial
throne and
the success
of Charles :

(2) Besides, the territories of these two rival princes touched each other at several points, which led to petty local quarrels.

Petty local
quarrels in
their res-
pective
territories.

Claim over
Naples :

(3) Moreover, Charles held Naples as the successor of Ferdinand the Catholic of Spain, while Francis claimed it as the descendant of Charles VIII of France.

Hereditary
rivalry :

(4) Again the old rivalry between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Louis XI of France now devolved upon their descendants Charles and Francis.

National
rights *vs.*
Universal
rule.

(5) Above all, Charles's power was considered to be dangerous to the independence of the lesser states of Europe, being the ruler of a vast dominion comprising of Spain, the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, the New World, Austria and the Empire. So Francis at once appeared as the champion of national rights against the ambitions of the Emperor to universal rule in Europe.

Allies in the War :

Charles
entered into
alliance with
Henry VIII
and Pope
Leo X.

Both Charles and Francis sought for the support of Henry VIII of England and Pope Leo X. Francis met with Henry at the *Field of the Cloth of Gold* for this purpose (1520), but Charles had already visited England and entered into a *Treaty at Gravelines* with Henry VIII. Pope Leo X though first sided with Francis, was won over by Charles on promise that Parma and Piacenza should be given to him, Milan should be restored to the Sforzas, and the Medici should be protected by the Emperor.

First Period of the War (1520-29) :

Unsuccessful
French
campaign
in Navarre.

(a) In 1520, the French overran Navarre, taking *Pampeluna* (where *Ignatius Loyola*,—a Spanish knight, became wounded to be the founder, later on, of the famous Order of the Jesuits). The French were however driven out of Navarre before the end of the year.

(b) In Italy, the French were opposed by Italian the Imperial army and driven out of Milan. campaign. They were forced to abandon Lombardy. Milan was restored to Francesco Sforza, and Parma and Piacenza were given to the Pope.

(c) The repeated attempts of Francis to re- cover his lost possessions in Italy terminated at the battle of Pavia (1525) in which he was cap- Francis tured. He was kept as a prisoner until he captured at Pavia agreed to the *Treaty of Madrid* (1526), ceding to and the treaty of Madrid. the Emperor the counties of Flanders and Artois in full sovereignty and arranging to unite in suppressing the heresy.

(d) Returning to France, however, Francis repudiated this treaty, and joined Venice, Holy League Milan, and Pope Clement VII in a new Holy of Cognac League at Cognac to compel Charles to grant and the sack of Rome. independence to the Sforzas of Milan (1526). Acting on his system of balance of power, Cardinal Wolsey, the minister of Henry VIII. of England, allied that country with France, and Henry VIII became the Protector of the League. Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperial troops and the army of the league was routed.

(e) In 1528-29, Francis made two more attempts to retrieve his cause in Italy, both of Defeat of Francis in which ended in failure. He was totally defeated Lombardy. by a Spanish general in Lombardy.

(f) Hostilities were brought to a close by Treaty of Cambray, 1529. the *Treaty of Cambray*; Francis was to re- nounce all his claims on Milan, Naples, Genoa, Flanders, and Artois, though he was allowed to retain Burgundy.

Results of the Struggle :

The French were altogether driven out of Humiliation Italy. The loss of Genoa cut off all direct con- of France.

Reasons for
the failure
of Francis.

nections between France and Italy. In spite of her reverses, France gained in unity and strength, and Burgundy became an important province of France. The rashness and haughtiness of Francis, the incapacity of his generals, and the desire of the Italian states to become autonomous account for this failure of Francis in Italy.

2. Advance-
ment of the
Hapsburgs.

Except the republic of Venice, all the Italian states passed under Charles. Under the protection of the Emperor, the Sforzas were restored in Milan, and the Medici in Florence. Charles was formally crowned King of Italy and Emperor by Pope Clement (1530), and the House of Hapsburg obtained a supremacy for three centuries to come. Ferdinand of Austria, the brother of the Emperor, acquired Bohemia and Hungary.

Second Period of the Struggle (1535-44) :

Charles's
war with the
Turks and
the Algerian
pirates, and
Francis's
intrigues
against
Charles.

(a) Sultan Solymán had besieged the Austrian capital Vienna in 1530, but failing in his attack he began to threaten Germany with an invasion ; at the same time the Corsairs of Tunis under Barbarossa and the Algerian pirates began to infest the Northern shores of the Mediterranean and Emperor Charles, landing in Africa, defeated Barbarossa, and captured Tunis. Meanwhile Francis began to intrigue against Charles in his absence, entered into close relations with England and Scotland, and at last ignominiously forming an alliance with Sultan Solymán conquered Savoy and Piedmont (1536).

Failure of
Charles in
Provence
and the
Truce of
Nice.

(b) Charles attacked the French territory of Provence (1536), but failed to take it, owing to the *Fabian policy* of the French general, Montmorency. Hostilities were however suspended

for ten years by the *Truce of Nice* (1538) negotiated by Pope Paul III.

(c) The Algerian pirates having renewed their incursions on the Mediterranean shores, Charles led an expedition against them, but, being weather-beaten off Algiers, he returned unsuccessful (1541). This encouraged Francis to renew his hostilities with Charles (1542) entering into an alliance with the Turks, the Duke of Cleves (who claimed Gelderland from Charles), and the kings of Denmark and of Sweden. Charles declaimed against the alliance and invaded Champagne with a powerful German army. At the same time according to a previous arrangement with Charles, Henry VIII of England besieged Boulogne. Francis was compelled to conclude the *Treaty of Crespy* (1544), by which all conquests since the truce of Nice were given up ; Francis renounced all claims to Naples, Flanders, and Artois, while Charles gave up his claim on Burgundy.

Charles's disaster off Algiers led Francis to renew the war.

The Treaty of Crespy. 1544.

Death of Francis and the importance of his reign :

Francis I died in 1547 after 32 years' stormy rule. His policy considerably affected the subsequent history of France. Though much absorbed in foreign politics, he was able to consolidate the French monarchy and to create a national spirit in France which led to an extension of her territory later on. He reduced the authority of the Church, suspended the meeting of the *Estates*, and jealously watched local and municipal freedom. By the imposition of the *Taille* (a land-tax originally levied for military purposes), by the sale of offices, and from the clergy, he derived large revenues. The magnifi-

Progress of the French monarchy in the reign of Francis I.

Francis,
the repre-
sentative
ruler in
France.

cence of his court, his encouragement of art and literature, and his martial spirit made him a representative ruler in France. He was the first to follow the traditional French policy of being Protestant abroad and Catholic at home. His rivalry against the Hapsburgs led him to negotiate with the League of Schmalkalde (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*), though he ruthlessly persecuted the Protestants at home, and exterminated the Vaudois for the sake of their conscience (1545). The severity of Francis compelled John Calvin, the famous Reformer of Geneva to leave France and to go into exile. He died with the reputation of being the most polite prince in Europe.

Third period of the struggle (1555-58):

Pope
Paul IV
incited
Henry II
of France
to make
war with
Philip II
of Spain.

(a) After the Religious Peace of Augsburg and the abdication of Emperor Charles V in 1556 (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*), the aged Pope Paul IV (Caraffa), who refused to confirm the said peace, out of his bitter hatred for the Spanish rule in Italy formed an alliance with Henry II, the successor of Francis on the French throne, to drive out the Spaniards from Italy. The Pope was soon reduced by the Duke of Alva, the governor of Naples appointed by Philip II (the successor of Charles on the Spanish throne). But the quarrel between France and Spain continued.

Spanish
victories at
St. Quentin
and
Gravelines.

(b) The French under Montmorency were totally defeated at St. Quentin by the Spanish troops under Philibert of Savoy (1557). They however conquered Calais, the last English possession in France, because Mary Tudor of England, wife of Philip II, had joined Spain (1558). In Flanders, the French were also defeated at Gravelines (1558).

(c) The *Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis* (1559) closed the war. By this treaty mutual cession of conquests took place. Savoy was to be restored by France to Philibert though Calais was to be retained by her. Spain withdrew from Picardy on the restoration of all places held in the Low countries and Italy by France. To confirm the peace, Philip II married the daughter of the French king, his wife Mary Tudor of England having died before the treaty in 1558.

The treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, 1559.

This treaty terminated the long struggle between France and the Hapsburgs which had begun since the accession of Charles in 1516. France was successful in resisting the formation of a great Hapsburg monarchy which threatened the independence of the lesser states in Europe, and Germany and Spain became henceforth separated. Religious, rather than political, differences divide Europe for sometime to come, and when the struggle re-commenced it took the form of a national duel between Spain and France.

Importance of the treaty.

CHAPTER II.

The Reformation Movement in Europe.

Meaning of the Reformation :

The Reformation, a balance of religious and political forces.

The 'Reformation' is the name ordinarily given to the great *religio-political* movement which swept over Europe in the 16th century, involving the emancipation of the Church and State in many countries from the domination of the Papacy and the establishment of various national and territorial churches. It became a *duel movement*, being, on the one hand, an insurrection against the universal ecclesiastical supremacy claimed by the Roman pontiffs, and, on the other, a 'renovation of the religious and moral life of Western Christendom.'

Causes of the Reformation :

(a) The Renaissance developed the spirit of criticism and enquiry which was applied to the service of religion.

The *Renaissance*, that great intellectual awakening in Italy at the close of the mediæval age, had led to the development of liberal and intelligent views of life among the educated classes who began to criticise independently the whole mediæval system of ideas, beliefs, and practices. But while Italy instead of demanding reform of religion, indulged in unparalleled artistic activity, the Northern countries, above all, felt a need for moral reform ; and it was in Germany that the new spirit of the *Renaissance* was first applied to the service of religion.

(b) The Popes indulged in vices

The real reason, however, for the beginning of the *Reformation* was the existence in the church of most serious scandals and abuses. In

the latter half of the 15th century, the church of Rome had become extremely corrupt and the personal wickedness of the Popes had risen to their height. The spiritual heads of the church of Rome became no better than the temporal princes, and being much mixed up in the wars of Italy called on men to support their political schemes under pretence of helping the cause of the Church. Religion, instead of being a thing of the heart, fast degenerated into an ignoble superstition by the worship of relics and images, pompous ceremonies, etc., and by a system of persecution which stifled all freedom of thought and established a dreadful spiritual despotism. Besides, the Popes indulged in all sorts of sensual delights: Pope Alexander VI led a most vicious life; his successor Julius II was anxious for the extension of his territories; Leo X was a refined sensualist. Spiritual guidance could therefore be no longer expected from the Popes.

Moreover, with the growing sentiment of national patriotism, the temporal princes also grew jealous of the claims of the Papacy. In the middle ages, the states of Western Europe were regarded as a sort of Christian commonwealth with the Pope as its spiritual head who claimed the right to appoint or nominate to church offices, to tax the clergy and the church properties and drew an immense revenue from every state in the shape of *Annates* or through the system of *Indulgences*. With the awakening sense of nationality, the secular governments began to assume new functions and fresh responsibilities on behalf of the people which

and looked for the extension of their temporal dominions for which they could not be trusted as spiritual guides.

(c) The financial demands of the Popes from every state roused the jealousy of their governments.

required larger revenues. Thus the financial demands of the Roman see became galling and intolerable to the lay governments of the different states at a time when there arose a loud protest against the moral life of the Church. All these circumstances combined together to bring about that division of the Christian church which is known as the *Reformation*.

Precursors of the Reformation :

Earnest men indignant at the wrongs done to humanity by the Papal despotism rose in Europe from time to time, but they were uniformly unsuccessful and generally perished as martyrs. Wycliffe, first raised his voice against Papal authority in England in the 14th century (hence called, the 'Morning-star of the Reformation'), but his followers, the *Lollards*, were persecuted and Lollardism was put down by the Lancastrian rulers. John Huss and Jeroma, the Austrian Reformers as well as Savanarola, the Florentine Reformer, alike fell victims to spiritual tyranny. At the close of the 15th and early in the 16th centuries, however, the celebrated *Humanists* in Germany (e.g., John Reuchlin, Ulrich von Hutten) and in England (e.g. 'Oxford Reformers') prepared the minds for the reform of the Church, though *from within* by the spread of education conducive to true piety and *without breaking the mediæval unity of Christendom*. Thus these Humanists were Reformers, though they differed radically from the revolutionary ideas of Martin Luther, the author and the 'Master-spirit of the Reformation'.

1. John
Wycliffe
and the
Lollards.

2. John
Huss.
3. Jeroma.
4. Savanarola.

5. The
Humanists.

Their
differences
from the
Protestant
Reformers.

I. The Reformation in Germany :

Martin Luther and the Beginning of the Movement :

His Early Career :

Born in a peasant family in Thuringia in 1483, he was sent to the University of Erfurt, a seat of liberal education in Germany, where he carefully learnt the scholastic philosophy. His thirst for divine knowledge led him, in spite of the wishes of his father, to join the Augustine Order of Friars in 1505. He then diligently studied the Bible and the works of Augustine, from which he realised the difference between true Christianity and the religion taught and practised by the Roman church. In 1510 he made a pilgrimage to Rome where the corruption and immorality of the Pope and the Church convinced him of the need of a thorough reform in the existing system of religion. Meanwhile, he had accepted a professorship in the University of Wittenburg, the capital of Saxony, where his teachings, after his return from Rome, gave a new turn to the studies and opinions of the professors and students from the old scholasticism.

Luther and his early religious experience.

His pilgrimage to Rome.

His acceptance of a Professorship.

His Attack on the Indulgences :

In 1517, Tetzel, a Dominican monk, came to hawk through Germany *Letters of Indulgences*. The Indulgences originated from the decisions of the Popes, that an act of sin could be pardoned in return for a gift of money to the church for some holy purpose and the certificates of remission of sins were called 'Letters of Indulgences'. The avaricious and corrupt Popes of the Renaissance employed them as a source

The doctrine of Indulgences : (Cf. the Hindu system of Prāyas-chitta).

of income, and Tetzel had been sent out to raise money for Pope Leo X.

Sale of
Indulgences
in Germany
and Luther's
attack in
his *Ninety-
five Theses*.

Luther
supported
by the
German
princes
and some
Humanist
Reformers.

Luther attacked the doctrine of indulgences and explained its pagan origin, saying that sin could not be got rid of by money but by confession, repentance, and penance. On 31st October 1517, he affixed to the door of the castle-church at Wittenburg his famous *Ninety-five Theses* denouncing the scholastic absurdities, papal pretensions and extortions. Men's minds were at once opened to the scriptural truth of 'Justification by Faith'. Henceforth, he obtained the powerful support of the German princes who were indignant at the transit of their subjects' money to Rome; and Frederick the Elector of Saxony became his patron and friend. Scholars like Erasmus though felt the necessity of reform did not like to break off from the Roman church but Melancthon and Ulrich von Hutten became firm supporters of Luther. The friends of rigid Romanism however did not remain silent, giving rise to a hot controversy, and out of the contention was born the Protestant church.

The Diet of Worms and the Radical Reformers :

Emperor
Charles V
declared
Luther a
heretic.

The Emperor anxious to secure the alliance of Pope Leo X in his war against Francis I in Italy, summoned Luther at the *Diet of Worms* (1521) and asked him to recant his new opinions considered heretical in the eyes of the church. On his indirect refusal, Charles V issued the *Edict of Worms* declaring Luther a heretic and outlaw. Anxious for his safety, his patron, the Elector of Saxony, took possession of his person and kept him concealed in the Wartburg castle where he translated the Bible into simple

German. The number of his sympathisers now swelled in Germany as they thought that Luther surely fell a martyr to his cause. The Protestant opinions of Luther soon gained a firm ground in Germany; monasteries were dissolved, simpler forms of worship in national language were instituted in the place of the Latin Mass.

His friendly imprisonment at Warburg and increase in the number of his sympathisers.

It is not unnatural that Protestant fanatics began to preach acts of violence against the Roman church. Such a zealous and extremist reformer was Carlstadt, who, during the concealment of Luther, created a ferment in Germany in his attempt to introduce hasty and revolutionary changes in the church-government. Hearing of this, Luther suddenly appeared at Wittenburg, denounced the actions of Carlstadt, and rallied round him a large number of followers on his own moderate platform.

Luther's return to Wittenburg and his denunciation of Carlstadt.

The Knight's War and the Peasants' Revolt—Attitude of Luther:

The ferment created by the teachings of the radical reformers like Carlstadt, Ulrich Von Hutten etc., caused an outbreak among the Knights of the Rhine country and shortly after followed a revolt of the peasants of South Eastern and Central Germany. The causes of these risings were chiefly political and social, but the spirit of the Reformation supplied the immediate pretexts.

The teachings of the radical reformers and the two risings in Germany.

The Knights or the lesser German nobility had no share in the Diet and considered the increasing power of the German princes as dangerous to their interests. Led by Ulrich Von Hutten, a radical German Humanist, they began to oppose foreign and Papal interference and wanted to overthrow the authority of the

The Knights' war, 1522.

princes. They were however defeated by the greater German princes and lost their political importance (1522).

The
Peasants'
Revolt,
1524.

Under the influence of the Anabaptist preachers, the peasantry of Germany, in order to ameliorate their hard lot of being treated as mere chattels of their whimsical masters, commenced a general insurrection in Swabia and committed excesses. The united army of the princes soon scattered their disorderly bands with a slaughter of many thousands (1524).

Luther's
attitude.

Luther denounced these risings as he never preached resistance to authority. But the attempts of the peasants to mingle religion with politics strengthened the conservative spirit of some of the German princes, and now Germany was divided into two hostile camps. A new party of South German princes e.g. of Bavaria, Austria, etc., agreed at the instance of the Pope in the *Convention of Ratisbon* to oppose the Lutherans (1524).

Effect of
the risings
on German
situation.

The Diet of Speier and the Progress of the Reformation :

Charles V
quarreled
with the
Pope which
saved the
Reforma-
tion.

At this time Charles V had arranged with Francis I. by the treaty of Madrid to unite to suppress heresy (*Vide Bk. II., Ch. I.*). But Charles did not appear in Germany to stifle the Reform movement as he was now at war with Pope Clement VII who had joined Venice, Milan and the French king in a new *Holy League at Cognac* (1526) with Henry VIII of England as the Protector of it. The Edict of Worms became a dead letter, and at the *Diet of Speier* (1526) it was accepted that the religion of each state was to be settled by its ruler. *The first stage of the Reformation was now over.*

Luther now quarrelled finally with Rome by marrying a nun Catharine Boria. Separate churches were built in the reformed states based on the new doctrines ; monasteries were suppressed ; Luther's Bible and hymns were everywhere used. The Elector of Saxony, many imperial cities like Augsburg, Ulm, etc., Brandenburg, Brunswick adopted Lutheranism ; while many princes like George Duke of Saxony, the Duke of Bavaria, etc., and above all the Emperor, wished to repress reform.

Marriage of Luther and the rapid progress of Luther's doctrines.

The Protest of Speier and the Confession of Augsburg :

In 1529, the Emperor's war with Pope Clement VII was closed by a peace, and when at the *second Diet of Speier* (1529) he passed a decree against all ecclesiastical changes. John of Saxony, George of Brandenburg and others with fourteen Free Cities issued a signed *protest* which gave the reformers (the followers of Luther) the name of the *Protestants*. Thus *Luther's work being done, his patron-princes took up the cause of the reformed faith.*

The protest entered at the second Diet of Speier gave the name to the Protestants.

Charles now returned to Germany in 1530 to enforce obedience to his edict passed at Speier, but his remonstrance with the protesting princes failed. A diet was held at Augsburg (1530) in which the *Protestants* presented their creed of Lutheranism, ably drawn up by Melancthon, known as the *Confession of Augsburg*. Charles in reply, condemned it and issued an edict forbidding the Protestant doctrines to be taught.

The Protestants and their creed—Confession of Augsburg, 1536.

The result was that the Protestant princes united themselves in a *League at Schmalkalde* (1530) for mutual defence, thinking that the edict of Augsburg would be enforced on them by

League of Schmalkalde for the defence of

Protestant
interests.

arms, John, Elector of Saxony, (son of Frederick of Saxony, the patron of Luther) and Philip of Hesse became the leaders of the league. *Thus the Confession of Augsburg and the League of Schmalkalde gave Protestantism a definite form and guaranteed it against any attack.*

Treaty of Nuremburg :

The
Turkish
war led
to a
religious
peace in
Germany
1532.

This schism in the church threatened Germany with a civil war. But hostilities were postponed, as Charles desired to unite the German princes against the Turks who had besieged Vienna under Sultan Solyman. Hence by the *Treaty of Nuremburg* (1532) Charles agreed that no one was to be molested on account of religious opinions until a general council had met, and he was rewarded by the hearty assistance of the Protestants in his campaign against the Turks.

Diversion of Charles from the Reformation :

Circum-
stances
leading
to it :

The
Ottoman
invasion.

War with
the Corsairs
and the
Algerian
pirates.

Sultan Solyman who had besieged Vienna, the Austrian capital, failing in his attempt, began to threaten the south-east of Germany. The conclusion of the Religious Peace of Nuremburg in 1532 united the German princes against Solyman, who unwilling to meet them drew back within his frontier. These enemies had hardly been repelled, Charles had to turn his attention to the Corsairs of Tunis and the Algerian pirates, who began to destroy the commerce of the Mediterranean and to plunder the coasts of Italy and Spain. Charles landed in Africa, occupied Goletta, defeated the Corsair prince Barbarossa, and liberated thousands of Christian slaves ; but his expedition against the Algerian pirates in

1541 was unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Francis I of France had entered into a treaty with the Turks and renewed his war with Charles which ended in the *Treaty of Crespy* in 1544 (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. I., second period of the struggle*). For these reasons Charles could not give his undivided attention to the Reform movement in Germany between 1530 to 1544. War with Francis I of France.

Death of Luther, and his Character :

The later life of Luther was perplexed. His country was being involved in civil wars, and his party, though influential, was mingling up religion with politics which he never anticipated. Worn out with cares, labours, and vexations, Luther died in 1546. An intrepid champion of the Faith, he was certainly pre-eminent among the Reformers of the age. Though irritable and dogmatic, his greatness lay in his devotion to duty, his terrible earnestness and his indomitable will. Luther, the greatest of the Reformers of his age. died, 1546.

Charles's War with the Schmalkaldic League, or, the Schmalkaldic War :

Its causes :

The Emperor, handicapped by his war with the Turks, the Mahomedan pirates of North Africa, and with France, could not take notice of the Reformation which was making a rapid progress after the Religious Peace of Nuremberg in 1532. Lutheranism spread in Wurtemberg, Baden, Anhalt, Augsburg and most of the towns of northern and central Germany. In Munster, the Anabaptists under John of Leyden, began to preach extreme doctrines e.g. community of wealth and of women ; but their leaders were executed in 1535. Saxony and Brandenburg also Rapid progress of Lutheranism in Germany after the treaty of Nuremberg. The Anabaptists.

accepted Lutheranism and joined the League of Schmalkalde.

Failure of Charles's attempt at a compromise.

Alarmed at this, Charles held a *Diet at Ratisbon* in Germany (1541) to find some basis for a religious compromise but he failed. Charles now saw there was nothing left but to employ force ; but the Turkish danger and the struggle with France forbade it. He therefore confirmed the Peace of Nuremburg.

Growing power of the League of Schmalkalde.

About this time, Henry of Brunswick refused to tolerate Protestantism. So the League of Schmalkalde made war upon him, expelled him from his dominions and established Lutheranism. At last, the old Catholic Archbishop of Cologne even, wanted to go over to the Reformers. Hence Charles resolved to put down the league and crush the Reformation.

Preparations and Policy of Charles :

Charles secured the adherence of Maurice of Saxony, the Protestant Duke.

His apparent policy of compromise.

By a policy of masterly hypocrisy, Charles kept his designs for the war concealed, while he secretly formed an alliance with the Pope and made a truce with Solymán. He also won over to his side Maurice, Duke of Saxony—an avowed Protestant who had subordinated religion to politics for his personal advancement—with John and Albert of Brandenburg, by pretending that his objects were political only, thereby partly splitting up the league. Meanwhile Charles followed an *apparent* policy of compromise, urging Paul III to call together at Trent a general council of the Church which however settled matters in a most uncompromising way. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III.*)

First Period of the War :

In the year of Luther's death (1546) Charles openly declared war on the league, and with

the help of Maurice won a victory at *Muhlberg*, (1547) ; the Elector of Saxony was captured and his territory was given to Maurice. Philip of Hesse, the other leader of the league, was also imprisoned. Thus the league was apparently smashed and Charles became now the arbiter of Germany.

Battle of Muhlberg and victory of Charles, 1547.

Second Period of the War :

Charles now resolved to enforce religious uniformity in the Empire, but, owing to the quarrel with the Pope at the church-council now held at Bologna, he resolved to settle German religious affairs himself. In 1548, at the *Diet of Augsburg*, Charles formulated a temporary religious creed, called the *Interim*, of which the doctrines were mainly Catholic, only two Protestant tenets being adopted *viz.*, communion in both kinds, and marriage of the clergy. The *Interim* however dissatisfied both Catholics and Protestants and caused the anger of the Pope.

Charles's attempt to enforce religious uniformity by the *Interim*.

Irritated by Charles V's attempts to enforce the *Interim* throughout Germany with the help of the Spanish soldiers, Maurice of Saxony now resolved to play the role of a patriot and to strengthen the cause of Germanic independence through religious freedom. As he still enjoyed the confidence of the Emperor, he was sent to reduce the rebellious Protestant city of Magdeburg, but he negotiated with the army of the city to organise a national Protestant army to stand against despotic Charles. The object of Maurice was to free his country from the foreign despotism of Charles ; so he made a political use of Protestantism, though he had no true sympathy with it. His aims were to aggrandise himself

Return of Maurice of Saxony to the Protestant side.

Aims of Maurice, and his character.

Assistance
of Henry II
of France
and the
defeat of
Charles.

and to uphold the independence of the German princes. He was an apt disciple of Machiavelli in the art of duplicity. Several other German princes joined with Maurice, and concluded a treaty with Henry II of France (1552) by handing over Metz, Toul, Verdun and Cambray, and getting a promise of help in return. At the head of this combined army, Maurice openly revolted, and was able to beat and nearly capture Charles at *Inspruck* (1552).

The Treaty
of Passau,
1552, and its
importance.

Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, now made the *Treaty of Passau* (July, 1552) with the Protestants allowing them to freely exercise their religion and to be represented in the Imperial Diet; Philip of Hesse (father-in-law of Maurice) and the Elector of Saxony were also delivered from bondage. *This treaty marks an epoch in the history of the Reformation*, as it terminated the first religious war in Germany which the Protestant League of Schmalkalde had waged against the Catholic church and the Emperor. Charles's attempts to secularise the Empire and thus to unify it to some extent ended in a failure.

Religious Peace of Augsburg, (1555):

Death of
Maurice,
and the
conclusion
of the
peace;

The war however did not terminate with the treaty of Passau, as the League had to make war upon Albert Margrave of Brandenburg, who had refused to go by the treaty and joined with Charles in attacking the 'three bishoprics' of Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1553 to recover them but failed. Maurice attacked and defeated Albert, but was himself killed in the engagement. Albert having fled from Germany to France, the *Peace of Augsburg* was arranged, by which—

(1) Lutheranism was to be tolerated as at Passau ;

(2) both Catholics and Protestants were to be represented equally in the Diet ;

(3) the Catholics were able to secure *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, i.e. any prelate becoming Protestant had to resign his office and all patronages connected with it ; but the Protestants entered a protest against it ;

Arrangements arrived at.

(4) all secularisations of property (i.e. transfers from Catholic to Protestant hands) in Lutheran states effected before 1552 were confirmed.

Its defects :

It failed to grant religious toleration in its true sense. The Protestants in Catholic states and Catholics in Protestant states continued to be persecuted, as the religion of the German people was to be settled by the princes in whose territories they lived. Besides, it gave no concessions to the followers of Zwingli or Calvin, who were the most active and progressive of the Protestant sects.

(a) Religious toleration not fully secured.

(b) No concessions to other forms of the Reformed faith.

Defective though this arrangement was, it gave peace to Germany for more than half a century till the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War which remedied all its defects and completed the Reformation.

Its political results :

The peace threw the Reformers into the hands of the territorial princes who went on being powerful enough to weaken the Imperial power. Germany became divided into a number of independent petty states whose princes were dominated by mutual jealousy.

1. Weakening of the Imperial power.

2. Internal division of Germany.

From this time to that of Frederick the Great, Germany ceased to be an international force.

2. The Reformation in Switzerland :

1484-1531.

Political
condition of
Switzerland.

Zwingli
began the
reform
movement.

Character
of his
teachings.

Quarrel
among the
Swiss
cantons.

Ulrich Zwingli and his work :

Switzerland was a federal republic, consisting of many little cantons, which had emerged from the control of the Empire in the reign of Maximilian. Humanist teachings had already prepared the people for a change in their religious convictions, and, independently of the German Reformation, Zwingli conducted the religious movement. Born of a poor family in 1484, he took his degree at the University of Vienna and entered the church. In 1519 he became a curate of Zurich and began his life as a religious reformer. Like Luther, he attacked the *Indulgences* in 1518, and also opposed Pope Leo X for hiring the Swiss for his wars. He criticised the customs of fasting and celibacy of the clergy, and urged the people to place their religious faith on the Bible only. He laid much stress upon the reformation of morals, innocence of life, trust in God, and resigned submission to Him. He quarrelled with the Bishop of Constance whose authority in Zurich was denied by the people. Berne, Basel, and several other cantons accepted his teachings, while others remained Catholic. Zwingli also sought to establish political equality among the cantons and to do away with the privilege of the four forest cantons in giving as many votes in the federal council as the rest of Switzerland taken together. In 1529, a civil war broke out and Zwingli's party defeated the four forest cantons. At the *Peace of Cappel* each canton was allowed

to accept or reject the Reformed faith according to the wishes of the majority in it. But in 1531 Zurich was defeated by the forest cantons and Zwingli was killed. The religious settlement however remained the same.

His Difference from Luther :

Luther *adopted* the Catholic doctrine of Zwingliism Transubstantiation in a moderate form, but ^{not} identical with Lutheranism. Zwingli *rejected* it altogether. Lutheranism assumed an *aristocratic* character, strengthening the hands of territorial princes, while Zwingliism was *democratic* in form as establishing the supremacy of the Congregation. Luther did not mix up religion with politics, but Zwingli's reforms were political as well as religious.

3. The Reformation in Geneva :

Calvin and his work :

1509-1564.

The city of Geneva, situated on the border of Germany and the Latin country, became an active centre of Reformation. While Zwingli was preaching his faith at Zurich, Guillaume Farel started the Reformation there. In 1534 Geneva had managed to be independent of the Duke of Savoy, and of the Bishop who was the sovereign of the city, and the municipal council abolishing the Mass adopted Protestantism. But Farel had no power to organise the new form of religion, which was to be done by John Calvin.

John Calvin was a Frenchman by birth : ^{Early career of Calvin.} born at Noyon in Picardy (1509). He had studied law, as well as theology. Being an ardent advocate of the reformed faith, he had to leave France in 1534 for the religious persecutions and to continue his theological studies in Italy and Germany. In 1536 he published his

His
appearance
in Geneva.

His exile
and recall.

His
teachings.

His
opponents
and their
persecution.

'*Institutes of the Christian Religion*' in defence of Protestantism and shortly after appeared in Geneva where Farel asked him to organise the church. The harsh doctrines of his system were not much liked by the people and as he sought to control civil liberty through his new church, he was expelled by the republic (1538). From 1538-41 he remained in Strasburg, and was then recalled to Geneva owing to the renewed activities of the Roman Catholics there. He now organised the church in Geneva and began to teach his doctrines till his death (1564).

He taught the doctrine of Predestination in its logical extreme—from their very birth, men were destined to eternal happiness or to eternal doom,—and rejected Transubstantiation. He abolished all forms of worship and church festivals, and laid special stress upon simplicity, seriousness and strict morality, as well as on the liberal education of both sexes. Moreover, he regarded the Congregation or the community of believers as the sole source of authority on earth, and vested the executive authority as well as the regulation of morals in an ecclesiastical council, consisting of qualified Pastors and twelve lay-elders or Presbyters, elected annually from the councils of the town. Calvin was thus the father of the Presbyterian form of church-government.

The rigid code of Calvin to reform society as well as religion met with opposition from a party called the *Libertines* who craved freedom in manners and desired to place the church under the state ; but it was of no effect, and Calvin treated them with merciless severity. Geneva became a centre of learning and a home of Protestant refugees.

Comparative Influence of Calvinism and Lutheranism :

Unlike Lutheranism which required the help of civil power, Calvinism was a self-governing form of faith. Each church formed a little democracy, and naturally ecclesiastical democracy fostered political democracy. Hence Calvinism obtained a far more favourable hearing than Lutheranism. While the democratic and aggressive character of Calvinism was distasteful to established governments, it was readily accepted by the opponents of those governments. Calvinism discarded Luther's teaching as to the evils of employing force. Thus it produced the Scotch Covenanters, the English Puritans, as well as the Pilgrim Fathers in America. It made possible the long struggle of the Huguenots in France, and the resistance of the Dutch to Philip II of Spain which led to their independence in the long run. *'Calvinism' may thus be said to be 'the creed of the rebels'.*

Political tendencies of Calvinism.

Historical importance of Calvinism.

4. The Reformation in Scandinavia ;

Progress of the Reformation in Denmark and Norway :

The three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway and Sweden had been united under one king in 1397 by the famous *Union of Kalmar*, each country retaining its own laws and customs. The union was never popular, and the powers of the nobles and the clergy increased at the expense of the king and the free peasants. Christian II became king in 1513. He married Isabella, the sister of Emperor Charles V, which increased his influence.

Reign of
Christian II
in Denmark:
1513-1523.

Frederick I,
1523-1533,
and his
toleration of
Lutherans.

Establish-
ment of
Lutheranism
under
Christian III,
1534-1559
in Denmark,
Norway
and Iceland.

The 'Blood-
bath of
Stockholm'.
and the

In Denmark, Christian II brought a check upon the nobles by elevating the burghers and the peasants. He arbitrarily levied money from the clergy, and subjected the higher orders to taxation. He reformed the municipal government, built ships and made wise treaties. He encouraged commerce and manufacture and restricted the commercial privileges of the Hanseatic towns in the Baltic. He invited Lutheran preaches from Saxony, but he lost his throne in 1523 owing to his growing unpopularity. His uncle Frederick I, who succeeded him, had to take an oath not to permit any heretical teaching against Catholicism; but as he was a Protestant, he gave toleration to the Lutherans at the *Diet of Odensee* (1527). Frederick died in 1533 and the Catholics chose John, while the Lutherans selected Christian III both of whom were sons of Frederick. In the so-called *Count's War*, Christian with the help of Sweden became successful and ascended the throne of Denmark. At the national assembly of Copenhagen held in 1536, the nobles supported the king to overthrow the authority of the Bishops, and a national Lutheran church was gradually created in Denmark.

The Reformation was also introduced in Norway and Iceland, the dependencies of the kingdom of Denmark, during the reign of Christian III.

Independence of Sweden, and Progress of the Reformation :

The Swedes were hostile to the Union of Kalmar and revolts of the nobles were of frequent occurrence. In 1526, Christian II overthrew the aristocratic government of the Stures in Sweden and massacred the leaders of the

nobles at Stockholm in cold blood. This terrible revolt of 'Blood-bath of Stockholm,' doomed the Union of Kalmar for ever. The Swedes, desirous of getting rid of the unnatural union with the Danes, revolted under Gustavus Vasa, a native of Sweden. Gustavus collected an army of peasants and liberated his country from the Danes in 1524.

✓Gustavus, establishing a strong monarchy in Sweden, next introduced the Reformation with the political motive of overthrowing the church and securing for the expenses of his government the clerical revenues. He also hoped to improve the condition of the nobles and to conciliate them thereby. He accordingly allowed Lutheran preachers liberty of teaching and summoned a *Diet at Westeras* (1527) which was induced to issue certain articles sanctioning the preaching of the reformed faith and giving the king the power to dispose of the church-property. Thus the Reformation was completed in Sweden principally on political necessity viz. to increase the central authority of the king and to promote national unity. Unlike in Germany and Switzerland, it was first adopted by the Crown to further its own interests and then taught to the people. A strong hereditary monarchy was established in Sweden from this time.

revolt of
Sweden
under
Gustavus
Vasa

Swedish
monarchy
under
Gustavus
Vasa,
1524-1560.

Political
motives for
Swedish
Reformation.

Sweden after Gustavus Vasa :

The strong monarchy founded by Gustavus Vasa passed to his son Eric (1560), who was deposed by his uncle John of Finland in 1568. John married a princess of the Polish House of Jagellon and secured for his son, Sigismund, the vacant throne of Poland. The bigoted Roman

Reign of
Charles IX.
1600-1611.

Catholicism of Sigismund and his persecution of the protestant subjects of Sweden enabled his uncle Charles to get hold of the Swedish throne in 1604, as Charles IX. Charles founded the Swedish monarchy on a Protestant basis, subdued the nobles and adopted measures for the welfare of his subjects ; but he was killed in the course of a Danish war (1611).

Ascendancy
of Sweden
under
Gustavus
Adolphus
1611-1632 ;

his
domestic
government ;

his war with
Poland ;

his part in
the Thirty
Years' war ;

His son and successor, the famous **Gustavus Adolphus**, closed the Danish war and concluded a peace with Russia which established a sort of maritime control of the Swedes in the Baltic. He then introduced a series of domestic reforms, reorganised the finances of the state and established a constitutional system of government without reducing the authority of the Crown. Being an enthusiast of the Protestant cause, he watched with interest the course of events in Germany, where the terrible Thirty Years' War had broken out in 1618. He waged war against Poland in 1620, which served as a diversion in favour of the Protestants then engaged in the Thirty Years' War, and developed his great military qualities in course of it. The failure of Christian IV of Denmark, as the leader of the Protestants in the Thirty Years' War opened the way for Swedish interference in Germany, and with French support Gustavus took a prominent part in the struggle (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII*). He died in the battle of Lutzen in 1632.

Queen
Christina,
1632-1654 :

During the minority of Gustavus's daughter Christina (1632-45), Chancellor **Oxenstiern** continued the policy, both foreign and domestic, of Gustavus. During the life of that king, he devoted his whole energies to carry out his master's wishes, and after his death to the completion of his master's policy. At home, he tried

to effect permanently the alliance of the Crown with the official nobility to serve as a counterpoise to the influence of the hereditary nobility and the clergy. Sweden received from him a written constitution, the first of its kind in the modern age, though it was of a narrow oligarchical type (1634). A peace was made with Poland by the cession of Polish Prussia (1635), and Christian IV of Denmark was compelled by the *Treaty of Bromsebro* (1645) to exempt Swedish vessels from the Sound-dues. At the *Treaty of Westphalia* (1648) which concluded the Thirty Years' War, Sweden secured the command of the Baltic by obtaining the greater part of Pomerania. Herself versed in classical learning, Christina was a patron of the men of letters, and was keenly interested in philosophical questions. Crotius, Vossius, and Descartes were members of her court. She made Stockholm for the time the Athens of the north. Her religious belief being shaken by her philosophical researches, she abdicated in favour of her cousin Charles X. and embracing Catholicism retired to Rome (1654).

Policy of
Chancellor
Oxenstiern

Progress of
learning
under
Christina.

Abdication
of the
Queen.

5. The Reformation in England.

Henry VIII and the Papacy :

The spirit of the *Renaissance* had already reached England. The group of humanists. Erasmus, Colet, More, better known as *Oxford Reformers*, sought to permeate the old christian faith with new classical thoughts and created a passion in England for a reform in religion, and Henry and his minister Cardinal Wolsey regarded the Papacy as an useful institution of divine origin and were on good terms with the

Origin of
the Reform
movement
—the
Oxford
Reformers.

Dissolution
of
monasteries
by
Cardinal
Wolsey.

Henry as
Defender
of the
Faith.

Pope. Wolsey however, like the Oxford Reformers, thought of the necessity of reform in the church. The enormous wealth of the church, the ignorance of the clergy and their dissolute and easy-going manners had attracted his attention and with the sanction of the king and the Pope, he began to dissolve some of the smaller monasteries.

Meanwhile the great religious movement had begun in Germany, and Henry, vain of his theological learning, wrote a Latin treatise in defence of the Seven Sacraments attacked by Luther. Pope Leo X, rewarded Henry's Catholic zeal by conferring on him the title of 'Defender of the Faith' which is still borne by the English King. This friendly understanding between Henry and the Pope was however soon ruffled by the rise of the Divorce question.

The Divorce Question and Breach with the Papacy :

Henry
sought to
be divorced
from
Catharine.

The Pope
treated the
divorce suit
dilatorily,
and Henry
determined
on a breach
with Rome.

Henry had married Catharine (daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella,) the widow of his brother Prince Arthur, by virtue of a special dispensation from Pope Julius II. Catharine had no male issue and Henry tired of, and at the same time, falling in love with a sprightly young maid-of-honour, Anne Boleyn, began to think of a divorce from Catharine. He asked Pope Clement VII to annul the dispensation of his marriage with Catharine. The Pope, afraid of the Emperor, deferred the matter, and appointed Cardinal Wolsey and Campeggio to conduct an investigation in England (1529); but nothing came out of it; Campeggio suddenly went back to Rome. Being angry, Henry banished Wolsey (1529), and determined of a complete breach

with the Pope. Luckily however, he got the support of the English people.

In 1531 Henry revived the old *Statute of Præmunire*, and next year with the help of the Parliament secured the submission of the clergy to his authority. In 1533 the *Act of Appeals* was passed by which appeals to Rome were restrained. He next appointed his friend Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury, referred the divorce to him, and got a decree of separation (1533). Henry now married Anne, and proclaimed her queen.

When Parliament met in 1534, Henry procured from it some Acts which completed the breach with Rome: the *Act of Annates* conferred on him absolutely the first fruits of bishoprics; the king's right to appoint bishops was recognised and all payments to the Pope were abolished; all appeals were to be heard by the delegates appointed by the king; lastly the *Act of Supremacy* declared the king as the "Supreme Head in earth of the church of England." "Thus Henry, head of the State became also the head of the Church, or briefly the English Pope."

As a result of a commission of enquiry appointed by Thomas Cromwell, Chancellor after Wolsey, an Act was passed in 1536, which led to the gradual suppression of all the monasteries in course of four years, and their estates were seized by the king or distributed among his nobles.

Protestant changes in the Anglican Church, and Henry's Attitude :

The Act of Supremacy had dealt a fatal blow to English Catholicism and thus secured

Protestant
changes in
the English
church.

the independence of the Anglican church. To promote unity of belief, the Ten Articles of Religion were drawn up by the Convocation in 1536, which in some points showed a distinct advance towards Lutheranism. The Bible edited by Miles Coverdale was translated into English and placed in every church; doctrines regarding purgatory, indulgences and Masses for the dead were condemned: relics and images were destroyed and pilgrimages were disallowed.

Henry
published
the Six
Articles of
Religion.

In his orthodoxy, Henry, however, alarmed at the spread of Lutheran heresy, published a Confession of Faith in the *Six Articles* (1539) which inflicted the punishment of death on all who should call in question the principal dogmas and practices of the existing church. The remaining part of the reign of Henry witnessed the persecution of both Protestants and Catholics for their disagreement from the Six Articles and refusal to accept the Act of Supremacy respectively. Henry died in 1547.

Protestant Advance under Edward VI (1547-53):

Dogmatic
changes
introduced
by Protector
Somerset.

Edward, the son and successor of Henry, being a minor, Somerset held the reins of government as Protector. Being Protestant in sympathies Somerset introduced changes which were neither Papal nor Protestant. Pictures and images were abolished; all laws against heresy were repealed, and a *Book of Common Prayer*, was issued. These violent changes, and the invasion of Scotland (1547) which involved England in a war with France, led to the fall of Somerset (1549). Northumberland now assumed the Regency and substantially followed the policy

of Somerset. In 1552 the *second Prayer Book* was issued, and next year *Forty-two Articles of Faith*, saturated with Calvinistic spirit, were set forth as grounds of belief for the Anglican Church. Conformity was enforced by imprisonment and the followers of the old faith were deprived of their sees or committed to the Tower. But as the majority of the nation were still Catholic, these radically protestant measures disgusted them; and for this reason when Edward died and Northumberland, to keep himself in power, tried to secure the throne for Protestant Lady Jane Grey (the great-grand-daughter of Henry VII), people thronged round Catholic Mary Tudor, daughter of Catharine and Henry VIII, and hailed her as their queen in 1553.

Catholic Reaction under Mary Tudor (1553-58):

Mary, as she was of Spanish blood, naturally turned towards restoration of Catholicism on her accession. She restored the Mass, revoked the Act of Supremacy and re-united England to the church of Rome. In 1555 the statutes against heretics were revived and a large number of them were burnt to death. People became disgusted with Mary's radically Catholic policy. Moreover, against the wishes of her people Mary married Philip II of Spain, the son of Emperor Charles V. The marriage however proved unfortunate as Philip cared nothing for her. To please her husband she drew England into the Spanish war with France which led to the loss of the Calais,—the last English possession in France (1558). Mary died shortly after in a broken heart.

Protestant
misrule
of Northum-
berland.

effected
a full
Catholic
restoration.

Her
religious
persecutions
and
Spanish
marriage
led to
her unpopularity.

Ecclesiastical Policy of Elizabeth (1558-1603) and the Settlement of the Church :

Elizabeth's
religious
policy.

On the death of Mary, her half-sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, came to the throne. She sought to follow the *via media* or the middle course in religion, as her desire was to possess supreme authority in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters.

Elizabeth
re-esta-
blished the
Protestant
church.

Her first Parliament passed the *Act of Uniformity* forbidding the clergy to depart from the service laid down in the second Prayer book of Edward ; a new *Act of Supremacy* was also passed acknowledging the Queen as the 'Supreme Governor of the realm in things spiritual as well as temporal,' and proclaiming thereby the independence of the Anglican church (1559). To enforce conformity on the clergy the *Court of High Commission* was established. Outward conformity to the Church was insisted on by Elizabeth in 1564, owing to the increased activities of the Puritans and the Separatists who were not satisfied with her half-measures. Forty-two Articles of Faith were reduced to thirty-nine, and Parliament enforced subscription to it (1571). Thus the Anglican church was established in England which became a champion of the Protestant world ; and as the Roman reaction was growing again with the appearance of the Jesuits in England in 1580, a great Protestant-Roman struggle, conducted by their respective champions England and Spain, seemed inevitable.

Her
attitude
towards
the Non-
conformists.

She was
compelled
to cham-
pion the
Protestant
cause.

Struggle with Spain, and its Effects :

Early in the reign of Elizabeth, the Dutch were trying to throw off their Spanish yoke and to interest England in the war. Elizabeth had

at first sent secret aid to them and privateers like Drake were encouraged to plunder Spanish colonies. At last when Philip's part in the Catholic conspiracies to place Catholic Mary Queen of Scots on the throne of Elizabeth was un-earthed, Elizabeth openly helped the infant republic of Holland by sending a strong expedition under the Earl of Leicester (1585). Though Leicester could do little, Philip became angry and prepared a strong fleet of 132 galleons —proudly called the *Invincible Armada*,—to invade and humble England. The Armada set sail in 1588, but the excellent seamanship of the English mariners and an unfavourable wind led to her destruction.

England was saved, and more than England, The cause of Protestantism. The maritime supremacy of Spain was broken, and England now understood that her true sphere was the sea. Englishmen, got for the first time the idea of extending their empire by establishing colonies. Commercial relations were now opened with various countries of the world which increased the wealth of England, developed her industries and manufactures, and made England ultimately the greatest maritime power in the world.

6. The Reformation in Scotland :

Though a poor and sparsely peopled country Scotland was, her numerous clergy were wealthy, lazy, and abuses were deeply rooted among them. Luther's teachings had reached there and from 1528 onwards few Lutherans were burnt, the protomartyr being Patrick Hamilton.

When James V of Scotland died (1542), his

Mary
Queen of
Scots
opposed
the
reformed
faith.

only infant daughter Mary became Queen of Scots. Her mother Mary of Guise assumed the regency and sent her over to France for education where she was betrothed to the Dauphin, and an alliance was formed between France and Scotland. Being imbued with French ideas, Mary naturally became a violent opponent of the Reformation.

John Knox
preached
the reformed
faith but
was captured
and exiled.

At the instance of Cardinal Beton, Archbishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, one George Wishart, who was preaching the Gospel in Scotland, was arrested, tried and burnt for heresy (1546). Thereupon Beton was murdered and St. Andrews was held by the Protestant party.

Knox
in England
and his
later escape
to Geneva.

John Knox, a disciple of Wishart, appeared there and began to preach. The Regent, Mary of Guise, with the help of the French captured St. Andrews, and Knox was shipped off and punished to serve in the galleys. After his release, Knox became one of King Edward VI's select preachers in England; but he had to flee to Geneva, on the accession of Catholic Mary Tudor on the English throne, and to settle there with Calvin. Knox returned to Scotland in 1555 to preach and organise, and gained some powerful supporters among the nobles. But as he was again summoned before an ecclesiastical court, he again departed for Geneva.

First
Covenant
signed by
the Scottish
nobles.

As the Reformation had already gained ground among the nobles who hoped to get rich church lands which awaited secularisation, the first Covenant was signed in 1557, and the 'Confregation of Jesus Christ,' was formed under their leaders, the '*Lords of the Congregation.*' They demanded that Edward VI's Prayer Book should be enforced in the churches. The

Regent was powerless owing to the disunion among the bishops and the nobles. The Mass was suppressed, images were smashed, and priests were rabbled.

In 1558 Mary Queen of Scots married the Dauphin Francis II and in 1559 they became rulers of France. The Regent was now making a last desperate attempt to crush the Reformation in Scotland with the aid of the French troops, but she failed as Elizabeth sent English troops to help the Lords of the Congregation. A *Treaty* was signed at Edinburgh (1560) by which the French agreed to leave Scotland and to acknowledge Elizabeth's title to the English throne which had been claimed by Mary Queen of Scots. Mary of Guise now died, and at a Parliament which met at Edinburgh the authority of the Pope was rejected and the Mass was abolished; a Confession of Faith was drawn up by Knox, which became the creed of the new Presbyterian church of Scotland.

Mary Queen of Scots arrived in Scotland in 1561, and acknowledged the new Calvinistic establishment; but she insisted, in defiance of Knox, on the retention of the Mass in her own chapel so that it might be possible for her to have a favourable opportunity to fight for her creed. A struggle, which practically became a civil war, now ensued between the Marian party and the Protestant followers of Knox.

Eventually, Mary had to flee from Scotland when her subjects revolted against her (1567) for her complicity in the murder of her second husband Lord Darnley and her marriage with Earl of Bothwell. She now took refuge in England where she became the centre of Roman Catholic plots against Elizabeth, and was be-

Elizabeth's
assistance
to the
Lords
of the
Congregation

Presbyterian-
ism
established
1560.

Queen of
Scots'
opposition
and the
civil war
in Scotland.

Mary's
escape
from
Scotland.

Mary in
England
and her
execution.

headed in 1587. Meanwhile the Reformation in Scotland went on till it practically expelled Roman Catholicism.

7. The Polish Reformation :

Condition
of the
Polish
church
on the
eve of the
Reformation.

The Reformation in Poland pursued its course for nearly half a century. The conditions of the church in Poland necessitated reform. The Pope exercised excessive authority, the clergy bore no public burdens ; the sale of 'Indulgences,' simony and other exactions of the Papacy told on the economic condition of the country, and the unworthy and ignorant monks and clergy administered but poorly to the spiritual needs of the people.

Spread of
Lutheran
opinions
and the
opposition
by Sigis-
mund I.

During the 15th century Hussite doctrines spread in Poland, preparing the minds receptive of new ideas. It was not long before the wave of the Reformation reached Western or Polish Prussia from Germany conquering the minds of men. The ecclesiastical authorities tried to suppress it, but failed. King Sigismund I of Poland, actuated by political motives, also attempted to suppress the movement, but he too failed. Albert of Brandenburg, the last Grand-Master of the Teutonic Order, became Protestant, and when in 1525 he obtained the Duchy of Prussia as a fief of the Polish crown (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII*), he began to introduce the reformed faith of Luther into his dominions. In Poland proper, frequent Acts of the ecclesiastical synods against the new faith could effect little, as the ecclesiastical courts were regarded with general contempt and the powerful nobles were hostile to the clergy.

Sigismund I, with his lack of zeal, could not check the tide of the Reformation.

Sigismund II, who succeeded in 1548, was friendly to the movement and individual nobles took what line they pleased. These circumstances favoured not only the free spread of Lutheran views but also other heretical opinions. The Bohemian Brethren with their advanced Hussite opinions, being expelled by Emperor Ferdinand in 1548, entered Poland. The sect evangelised many districts of Polish Prussia and of Great Poland.

Attitude of Sigismund II. towards the Reformation.

The Bohemian Brethren.

During the reign of Sigismund Augustus (1548-72), the Polish Reformation was at its height, when the Polish Diet gave every nobleman the right of adopting any form of worship in conformity with the Scriptures for his own house.

Ecclesiastical license under Sigismund Augustus.

Everything pointed to the triumph of the Reformation. But too much liberty became a source of weakness. The Bohemian Brethren, established in Polish Prussia and Great Poland, united with the Calvinists of Little Poland and Lithuania (1555). But the Lutherans were persistently opposed to any sort of union. Every attempt to put an end to divisions failed, and at length the *Synod of Sandemir* (1570) proclaimed only mutual toleration. Thus by the year 1572, the critical time of the death of Sigismund Augustus, the Protestant sects were established in Poland with their mutual jealousies.

Division among the Reformers.

The Synod of Sandemir, 1570.

Meanwhile dangers were arising. Though after the death of Sigismund Augustus, Protestants and Catholics got equal political rights in the Diet of the newly established oligarchy, the reign of the second elected king, Stephen

Beginning
of the
Catholic
reaction.

Bathori, witnessed the beginning of a Catholic reaction. This was due to the exertions of the Jesuits who had entered Poland (1570), gained over the powerful nobles and usurped the institutions of higher education. Sigismund III, the third elected king, took vigorous measures to restore Catholicism, and henceforth began a more effective opposition which was destined to attain complete success in the future.

8. The Reformation in the Catholic South :

The tide of the Reformation which was passing over Northern Europe in the earlier half of the 16th century did not leave the South untouched.

(a) *Its Progress in Italy :*

Caraffa's
failure to
reform the
Church
of Rome.

Pope Adrian VI, a good scholar, an upright and pious man, attempted to reform the practical abuses of the Church ; but he failed as the *curia* was determined not to be reformed. Then a party, consisting of clergy and laity led by Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (afterwards Pope Paul IV), and the Count Caetano da Thiene, tried to reform the church from within, but the attempt also met with failure. The revolt against abuses however prepared the way for a movement of a more destructive kind. The reformed opinions of Germany were slowly appearing south of the Alps. Luther and Zwingli had many admirers in Italy, and their writings, translated into Italian, were largely circulated there. The Reform movement found active centres in Venice, Ferrara, Modena, Naples, and Lucca. But Pope Paul III estab-

Progress
of the
Reformed
faith
checked
by the
Inquisition.

lished the Court of Inquisition in Rome on the Spanish basis empowering six cardinals to try matters of faith and inflict the penalty of death ; and Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) completed the extension of its power over the whole of Italy, and published the *Index* or the list of proscribed heretical writings, thus paralyzing the movement everywhere in Italy.

(b) *Its Progress in Spain :*

The Reform movement in Spain had little vitality except in two centres, Valladolid and Seville. The writings of Erasmus, full of his liberal thoughts and ridicule of religious customs, entered Spain from Rotterdam and stirred the minds of earnest men. But repressive measures were promptly taken by Charles I, and the *Inquisition* easily led to the suppression of the movement. Even in Seville, the reformed religious institutions of such eminent reformers as Rodrigo de Valer and his disciples Juan, Gil, and Constantino, and at Valladolid, the followers of such an eminent preacher as Agustin Cazalla, were suppressed with the strong hand of the *Inquisition*. Many persons—even the Moors and the Jews—fled to Flanders and other foreign countries where they lived and died.

Emperor Charles crushed the movement

The *Inquisition* set up for religious persecution.

(c) *Its Progress in Portugal :*

In Portugal the religious movement never attained a serious character ; a few Erasmites (followers of Erasmus) were proceeded against for heresy from time to time, and that was all. The *Lisbon Inquisition* founded by king Dom Joao III with a real motive to fleece the Jews to replenish the royal treasury, only made Protestantism impossible in Portugal.

Reformation checked through persecution from time to time.

9. The Reformation in the Netherlands :

Emperor Charles V failed to check the progress of Protestantism.

The Protestant movement which troubled Germany in the earlier part of the 16th century was carried into the Low Countries. The Lutheran heresy, as it first appeared there, met with relentless hostility which took a more serious character during Charles's reign. In 1522 the *Inquisition* was set up in the Netherlands and in 1550 it was spurred on to a greater activity. But Lutheran heresy did not disappear, even though such drastic measures, as burnings at the stake, became common occurrences. Then the Calvinists entered the country, joined the Lutherans and strengthened the Protestant cause. Thus before Charles's abdication the reformed doctrines became deeply rooted in the Netherlands.

Persecution of Philip II and the revolt of the Netherlands.

Under Philip II, son and successor of Charles V, the Netherlands witnessed a system of unparalleled persecution. Both Catholics and Protestants, disgusted at Philip's disgraceful policy of persecution, joined hands and revolted. But Don John of Austria and the Duke of Parma, the shrewd governors of Philip in the Netherlands, succeeded in winning over the south to Catholic Spain while the north became a Protestant republic. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. V.*)

General Character of the Reformation :

A Teutonic movement.

The Reformation was essentially a *Teutonic movement*. It was due to the reaction of the Teutonic mind against the Roman. The Latinised or Romanised nations of the South being imaginative and sentimental attached

great importance to pompous rites and ceremonies of worship, which distinguished the Catholic church from the Protestant. Hence while the movement prevailed in the northern states of Europe, it was miscarried in the south which remained in the old faith. Again, it was a *dual movement*, being an insurrection against the Papacy and at once a great renovation of the religious and moral life of Europe. Besides the movement was influenced from the beginning by political motives and was sustained chiefly by factions and ambitious states.

General Effects of the Reformation :

The Reformation broke the bonds which so long united the nations of the Teutonic race in Europe with the Romance nations, and this severance meant a transfer of the allegiance by the former from the *Church* to the *Bible*. This release from the Papal servitude helped the progress of civil liberty in Europe because the democratic and aggressive character of the Reformed doctrines found support with those discontented with the established order of things. The nations accepting the Reformation thus became 'absolutely independent or sovereign powers, self-centred and self-governed in their religious as well as in their political'. Moreover, by insisting upon every man's right to form his own judgment in religious matters, it practically paved the way for the principle of religious toleration.

A 'Dual movement.

(a) Severance between the Romance nations in Europe.

(b) Progress of civil liberty in Europe.

(c) Mighty impulse given to religious toleration

CHAPTER III.

The Counter-Reformation.

Origin of the movement :

(a) Preaching of Luther's doctrines led to the demand
(b) Sack of Rome in 1527 increased the demand.

When towards the middle of the 16th century Luther began his reform movement by preaching his doctrine of 'Justification of Faith,' some earnest and thoughtful men broke off from the corrupt Roman church professing the new faith of Luther, while others sought earnestly to reform the old Church from within (*Vide 'the Reformation in Italy'*), and the tide of Counter-Reformation flowed. When in 1527, during the war between Emperor Charles V and Francis I, Rome was sacked by an Imperial army, the most serious and pious of the Catholics took it to be the judgment of God upon the city for its wickedness, and urgently demanded a thorough reform of the church.

Chief Agents of the Counter-Reformation :

These were (a) the Society of the Jesuits ; (b) the Council of Trent ; and (c) the Inquisition.

(a) The Society of the Jesuits :

Career of Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Order.

The religious fraternity known as the Society of the Jesuits, or the *Order of Jesus* was founded by Ignatius of Loyola, a native of Spain. Born in a noble family, Loyola became a soldier in his youth. Crippled by a canon shot at the siege of Pampeluna in 1521, (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. I.*) he chanced to read some

Lives of the saints. This so fired his imagination that he resolved to emulate their achievements. After studying philosophy and theology, he founded his new society with some of his fast friends, (1534). The Society was recognised by Pope Paul III in 1540, because the members took an oath to carry out the commands of the Pope without hesitation and delay. The object of the society was to meet the ardour and activity of the Reformers by the energy, devotion and self-renunciation of its own members.

The
object
of the
Society.

Each member had to undergo a noviciate for two years, after taking vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience to the general and the Pope; the final authority of the Order was vested in a general (elected) and strict discipline was observed; as the members had not to observe the ordinary duties of monastic order they got ample time for their special works, though they had to cut off all ordinary ties of life and every communication with their homes.

Constitution
and
organisation
of the
Society.

The Jesuits became famous preachers, confessors, courtiers, physicians, scientists and missionaries. Their aim was to fill the world with schools and colleges which they gradually did and thus instilled their doctrines into the minds of the young men of the time. They devoted themselves to contemporary politics and became cunning diplomats and conspirators in European courts. Thus, through their untiring efforts, they helped to destroy Protestantism in Italy, Spain, France, Poland, and in the dominions of the Hapsburgs,—the countries, in short, which still remained Catholic. Macaulay remarks. "The history of the Jesuits is the history of the Catholic reaction."

The
activities
and works
of the
members
of the
Society.

Francis
Xavier.

One of the distinguished missionaries of the Society whose labours in India, Japan, and other lands of the Far East were attended with marvellous success was Francis Xavier (1506-52), better known as the "Apostle of the Indies." The celebrated educational institution in Calcutta, the St. Xavier's College, is associated with his name.

(b) *The Council of Trent, (1545-63) :*

The origin
of the
Council of
Trent.

There was a cry for general church-council to settle religious disputes in Germany during the Reformation and Emperor Charles V assured the people of calling one, while concluding the Religious Peace of Nuremburg in 1532 (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*)

First
session
of the
Council,
1545.

Pope Paul III summoned such a council (1545) at Trent but it failed in its object. The Emperor and the Pope quarrelled. The Pope transferred the Council to Bologna in France (1547) and the Emperor declared the council invalid. Consequently it ended without doing anything important.

Second
session
of the
Council,
1551.

Pope Julius III, successor of Paul III, was friendly to the Emperor. Induced by him, the Pope convened the council again at Trent (1551), but he refused to depart from orthodox views ; so the second session of the council also failed.

Third
session
of the
Council,
1562.

During the Papacy of Paul IV (Caraffa) the demand for a general council rose again ; but the Pope, who undertook to save the Church through the Papacy (*Vide 'the Reformation in Italy'*), did nothing more than abolishing nepotism, the greatest vice of the Popes. However, Pius IV, successor of Paul IV, called the third session of the Council in 1562. This session confined itself only to the work of

regeneration of the Romish church, as the Protestants had already secured some sort of religious toleration by the Peace of Augsburg in (1555). Many church abuses were done away with, the old system of worship was given a more rigid shape, the divine character of the Papacy was reasserted, and Protestantism was condemned. It also demanded that priests and bishops should lead their lives strictly according to the code of Christian purity and morality.

Importance
of the
Third
session.

(c) *The Inquisition :*

It was an ecclesiastical tribunal established in Rome (1542) by Pope Paul III, on the Spanish model for the purpose of tracing and punishing heresy. The penalty which the judges (who were cardinals) pronounced, was usually confiscation of property or death, which was executed by civil authorities. It showed a notable activity in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. In Italy and Spain, its successful operations crushed the Reformation, but in the Netherlands it produced quite the opposite effect.

The Inquisition re-organised by Pope Paul III and its results.

Results of the Counter-Reformation :

The Council of Trent completed the Counter-Reformation helped by the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The council strengthened the despotic authority of the Pope, and under its influence the Roman Church acquired a new strength and consistency to fight its battle with Protestantism for more than half a century. Besides the council influenced and improved lives of the Popes and the clergy who were no longer scoundrels and hypocrites. Helped by Spain, the Inquisition, and the Jesuits, Catho-

(1) Power of the Pope increased.
(2) The Roman Church strengthened.
(3) Lives of the Popes and the clergy improved.

(4) Return
of countries
to ancient
faith.

cism entered on a career of conquest of those countries which had fallen away from the old church, and became successful to check the growing tide of the Reformation.

CHAPTER IV.

Spain in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

Emperor Charles V in Spain (1516-56):

Charles, the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, had become king of Spain in 1516 and was elected Emperor three years later. He laid the foundation of royal despotism in Spain. He deprived the cities of Castile of almost all their liberties when they had revolted against his arbitrary measures in 1521, humbled their ancient Parliament,—the Cortés, and used the Inquisition, largely than Ferdinand and Isabella, for persecuting the Moors and the Jews. He spent the last thirteen years of his reign in Germany. The divided interests of Charles and his short-sighted home-policy brought incalculable internal injuries on Spain.

Spanish administration of Charles V. and its results.

Last days of Charles and his character :

Broken in spirit by the issue of his contest with the Protestant princes of Germany and by the triumph of his rival Henry II of France, Charles found it impossible for him to manage his vast dominions and abdicated in favour of his son Philip the crowns of the Netherlands and of Spain and its colonies, and in favour of his brother Archduke Ferdinand the Austrian and German possessions. He then retired to the monastery of Yuste in western Spain (1556), where he died two years later.

Abdication of Charles, 1556.

Character
of Charles.

Though not a man of extraordinary genius, he was "the greatest monarch of the sixteenth century." A good friend and a kind master in private life, he was never vindictive as an enemy. In spite of his great sagacity, his astonishing skill and unwearied application in business, his ambition and intolerance plunged Europe in wars for half a century. Even at the time of his death, he advised Philip to cherish the *Inquisition* in order to "bring to justice any heretic in his dominions, and this without exception and without favour or mercy to any one."

Reign of Philip II (1556-98) :

His dominions :

Countries
ruled by
Philip.

On his accession, Philip came to be the ruler of vast dominions, *viz.*, Spain and her colonies, Naples, Sicily, Milan, and the Netherlands, although the Imperial crown had passed out of the Spanish line of the House of Hapsburgs. Again just before the abdication of his father, he had married Mary Tudor of England in the hope of adding that country to his dominions which however was not realised ; but in the middle of his reign he acquired Portugal and its rich dependencies in Africa and the East Indies. Thus the dominions of Philip were scarcely less extensive than those of his father.

His wars with France :

Defeat
of the
French by
Philip.

Aided by the English Queen, Mary Tudor, now the wife of Philip, the old quarrel with France was renewed by Philip. Duke of Alva, Philip's governor of Naples, reduced

Pope Paul IV (Caraffa) who had joined with Henry II of France to drive the Spaniards out of Italy. Philip defeated the French at *St. Quentin* (1557) and at *Gravelines* (1558), and Henry II was forced to agree to the *Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis* (1559). Spain was left in undisputed sway of Naples and Milan, and Philip won great distinction in the eyes of all Europe. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. I.*)

In 1595, Henry IV of France declared war upon him for the assistance he had rendered, as the champion of Catholic reaction, to the Catholic League in France in the War of the Three Henries. (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. VI.*) The war was closed by the *Peace of Vervins* (1598) which confirmed the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. Peace of
Vervins,
1598.

His war with the Dutch :

Born and brought up in Spain, Philip "was a devout Catholic and found in the cause and success of his religion the direct and easy attainment of his political ends." His religious bigotry and policy of persecution horrified the people of the Netherlands who rose in revolt (1572). The Dutch Protestants naturally found sympathy among the German Protestants, the French Huguenots, and specially of Protestant England. The war led to the establishment of the Dutch Republic and was not concluded till 1609 in the reign of Philip III. (*For details, vide Bk. II, Ch. IV.*) Revolt
of the
Nether-
lands.

His struggle with England :

The help rendered to the Dutch by Queen Elizabeth of England during the revolt of the Netherlands infuriated Philip and he sent the "Invincible Armada" against her. But Fate was Failure of
Philip's
Invincible
Armada.

against Philip and the expedition failed miserably (1588). Henceforth the maritime supremacy of Spain, and with it her commercial greatness, began to decline. (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. II.*)

His opposition to the Turks :

Defeat of
the Turkish
fleet at
Lepanto,
1571.

The Ottoman Turks had already obtained a control of the Mediterranean, in the 15th century and had dealt a death-blow to the Venetian commerce (*Vide Bk. I, Ch. I, 'Venice' and 'Ottoman Empire.'*). Besides they were pushing towards Germany and becoming a terror to Christian Europe, and the Moslem pirates of Northern Africa were infesting the coasts of Italy and Spain. So the Pope, Venice, and Spain formed a league and sent a fleet under Philip's half-brother, **Don John of Austria**, which defeated the Turks in the gulf of *Lepanto* in Greece (1571). Henceforth Mahomedan seapower received a check never to rise again.

His annexation of Portugal :

Acquisition
of Portugal
by Philip.

When Henry, the last native king of Portugal died, (1580), Philip laid claim to the throne, sent Duke of Alva with an army, and promising to respect her ancient liberties won over the clergy and the nobles. When he got possession of the state with her immense colonial possessions in South America, in Africa and in East Indies, he did not keep his promise and subverted her constitution to serve the purpose of his Spanish monarchy.

His domestic policy :

To establish his absolutism at home, Philip like his father, suppressed the constitutional privileges and liberties of his subjects. The

Aragonese constitution was suppressed, the Spanish Cortés became a chamber of king's nominees, and the Court of Justicia was turned to a king's court. The terrible engine of the *Inquisition* crushed individual thought of the Spanish people, and paralysed the industrial and agricultural activities of Spain. He forbade the Moriscos, or the domiciled Moors of Spain, to write or speak in Arabic, to sing national songs, to use their national dress, to maintain the seclusion of their women, and deported them wholesale from Granada to the inland provinces (1591).

His death :

Philip died in 1598. Unlike his father, he was a *representative Spaniard*; in him were embodied the traits, the ideals, and the aspirations of the Spanish people. While his father recognised the claims of his several dominions and was never partial to any particular nationality, Philip looked upon his provinces outside Spain as subject-states or dependencies. Philip was habitually reserved, but his manners were extremely cold and haughty. Unlike his father, he was never in touch with his ministers, nor did he possess the rare gift of choosing proper men to carry out his designs. Charles V subordinated religion to politics and was never a bigot like his son, with whom religious bigotry and dynastic ambition were inseparable. Resolved to establish religious unity at all costs, Philip became the willing vassal of the Papacy and identified himself thoroughly with the movement of the Counter-Reformation, whereas his father had been always anxious to dictate his own terms to the Pope and to rule both over the

policy of Philip and its result.

Character of Philip and his principles of government.

Contrast between Charles and Philip.

church and the state. Philip hated all resistance to his authority. Outside Spain, he was considered as the darkest tyrant of the age and the most persistent enemy of liberty and culture. As an administrator, he was as unwearied in business as Emperor Julian, and busied himself with the endless details of government.

Successors of Philip II :

Philip III, son and successor of Philip II, was a weak and incompetent ruler. His inordinate zeal for the church led him to issue a series of heartless edicts against the decaying Moors who were cruelly persecuted and finally banished from Spain which led to the industrial ruin of the country (1609). The same year he concluded a twelve years' truce with the rebel Dutch which *virtually* recognised their independence (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. V*). Peace was also made with James I of England, and the alliance with France was strengthened with the beginning of the regency of Mary de Medici. Spain at this time sided with Austria in the Thirty Years' War and devastated the Palantinate (1620). Though the weakness of Spain had begun, it was the Golden Age of the Spanish literature and arts ; Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Calderon, Velasquez and Murillo all belong to this age.

Weak rule of
Philip III
(1598-1621).

Unfortunate
reign of
Philip IV
(1621-65).

Olivares
and his
adminis-
tration.

The reign of Philip IV was a long series of misfortunes and losses. His minister Olivares who was no match for Cardinal Richelieu of France, provoked the hostility of that country by supporting the dynastic ambitions of the House of Austria ; and when Catalonia revolted against his centralised despotism, France supported her. Portugal, also with French assistance tried to throw off the Spanish

yoke (1640), though she was not successful till the victory of *Villa Viciosa* in 1665. For these reasons Olivares was overthrown by a court Fall of intrigue in 1643. Don John reversed the policy Olivares. of Olivares in Catalonia, drove away the French therefrom and pacified the province. Sicily and Naples also rose in revolt against Spain, but they too were pacified by Don John. Spain had to recognise the independence of the Dutch at the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648), which concluded the Thirty Years' War (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII.*), and to cede to France Artois, Hainault and Luxemburg at the *Treaty of Pyrenees* (1659) while concluding the Wars of the Fronde in (*Vide Bk. III, Ch. II*). From this time, the political, social and material decline of Spain went on rapidly.

The weak reign of his successor, Charles II, Decline of closed the rule of the Hapsburgs in Spain. Spain under By the *Treaty of Aix-lachapelle* (1668) which Charles II (1665-1700). closed the War of Devolution, and the *Peace of Nymegen* (1678) which concluded the Dutch War (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III*), the Spanish territory was reduced to a narrower limit. The *Treaty of Lisbon* (1668) also recognised the independence of Portugal. Spain now sank into a second-rate power, yielding the first place to France, and her commercial monopolies in the West Indies were altogether destroyed by the English and the Dutch. The reasons for this decline of Spain may chiefly be attributed, firstly, Causes of the decline of Spain. to the *false imperial policy* which she pursued in Europe and which involved her in endless and fruitless wars, and secondly, to her *political despotism and religious intolerance*.

CHAPTER V.

The Revolt of the Netherlands, and Rise of the Dutch Republic.*

The Netherlands before the Accession of Philip II :

The
Netherlands
in the
Middle
Ages.

In the Middle Ages the Netherlands consisted of 17 provinces—duchies, counties, or lordships. Each province purchased its liberties from its feudal lord, each was independent of the other, governed by its own independent institutions. Each province had a provincial assembly of clergy, nobility and commons with a democratic constitution—each looking like a small republic. After all, three bonds of union—dynastic union, the Supreme Court of Justice, the States-general or Common Parliament—gave a distinct republican character to the nation as a whole. These three bonds of union were gradually given to the provinces. The dynastic union was given first by the House of Burgundy, a younger branch of the House of France, in the later Middle ages when the Netherlands passed under Philip, the Duke of Burgundy. But as the family died out in the male branch with Charles the Bold (1477), the Netherlands passed under Charles's daughter Mary and her husband Emperor Maximilian of the House of Hapsburgh, and through them

Rule of the
Dukes of
Burgundy.

* Students are referred to the author's publication: '*The Elizabethan Age*', pp. 62-87.

under Emperor Charles V. It was this Charles V who gave to the Netherlandish provinces the last two bonds of union by establishing the Supreme Court of Justice and the States-general. Thus giving political bonds of union to the various provinces, Charles V tried to unite them by a stronger bond of union *viz.* one religion. The Protestant movements of Germany and Geneva reached the Netherlands, and the northern provinces inhabited by the Teutons (speaking German) embraced the doctrines of John Calvin which were quite in harmony with their republican principles, while the southern provinces inhabited by Kelts (speaking French) remained Catholic. Charles to carry out his design, tried to re-establish Catholicism throughout the Netherlands by issuing edicts not to read the Scriptures and by introducing the *Inquisition*. In 1550, he issued an edict by which he extended the authority of the Inquisitors and invested them with full powers to punish heretics with the severest penalties.

Reign of
Charles V
and the
progress
of the
Reformation.

The Netherlands under Philip II :

When Charles V abdicated in an assembly at Brussels, (1555), Philip II got the crown of the Netherlands, and remained there for four years. During this period, he followed a terrible policy of persecution, and the people became highly discontented.

Philip's
policy of
persecution.

Causes of the Discontent :

To root out Protestantism, Philip spurred the *Inquisition* instituted by his father to a greater activity renewing the edict of 1550. Thousands miserably perished in the hands of the executioners or were imprisoned in the name

1. Activity
of the
Inquisition ;

2. Establishment of an anti-national government.

3. Creation of new bishoprics.

4. Rigid enforcement of the policy of persecution by the Segovia Despatch.

of justice and religion. He then established in 1559 an anti-national government with Margaret, his half-sister, as governor : assisted by a secret council of foreigners—the *Consulta*, which was presided over by Cardinal Granvella, a bigoted Catholic and persecutor, thus, ignoring the recognised Council of State, in which the great nobles of the land had seats. He further sought to confiscate church property for the maintenance of 15 bishoprics and 3 arch-bishoprics, newly created by a Papal bull, thus offending both Protestants and Catholics. The nobles, led by William, Prince of Orange, Count Egmont and Admiral Horn, opposed the anti-national government and got Granvella recalled by Philip, but the policy of persecution remained unchanged. Egmont, as a representative of the discontented nobles went to Madrid and warned the king against his policy of persecution, but Philip, deaf to all warnings, sent to Margaret a despatch from Segovia insisting on a rigid execution of the edicts against heresy (1565).

Beginning of the Quarrel, and the Compromise :

Formation of the national league—the 'Compromise'.

Iconoclastic riots.

The Segovia Despatch infuriated the nobles both Protestant and Catholic, who formed a league against the Inquisition, called the "Compromise". The league was an organisation rather of constitutional than of religious defence. The members of the league now petitioned the Regent for the redress of their grievances, but the petition was unceremoniously rejected as one coming from the 'Beggars.' Gradually the spirit of resistance spread from the nobles to the people who stirred up by the Calvinistic preachers sacked the cathedral of

Antwerp and destroyed the images and ornaments of churches everywhere (1566). Margaret, thought as incompetent to cope with the situation, was re-called (1567). Recall of Margaret.

The iron rule of Alva (1567-73), and the Revolt :

Philip blind with rage sent Alva, one of his best generals and a bigoted Roman Catholic, as governor of the Netherlands (1567). On his arrival, William of Orange fled to Germany, and made himself busy with plans for the liberation of his country. Alva, on the other hand, began his military oppression. He set up the "Council of Blood", a council to ferret out all who created the disorder of 1566. Thousands perished on the scaffold, thousands fled from the country. Egmont and Horn were executed to warn the discontented nobles. In the meantime William of Orange collected an army, and in 1568 invaded the Netherlands. William's undisciplined troops were defeated by Alva at *Jemmingen*. Alva next took *Haarlem* and put fifteen thousand to the sword. Alva as governor.
The 'Council of Blood'.
Opposition of William of Orange
Sack of Haarlem.

Having thus paralysed the action of the liberators, Alva entered on a policy of ruthless persecution, and ventured to impose an oppressive tax—'the Tenth Penny'—on every commercial transactions to meet the needs of his treasury, thereby threatening the commerce of the country. Imposition of the 'Tenth Penny'.

At this juncture, the "*Beggars of the Sea*," a small band of hardy Dutch pirates, led by their Captain De la Marck, suddenly captured the town of Brill (1572). Encouraged by this success the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland and Seizure of Brill by the 'Sea-Beggars', 1572.

Recall of
Alva.

Utrecht drove out their Spanish garrisons and recognised William as their Stadtholder or governor. Alva's rule was a failure and he was recalled (1573).

Administration of Requesens, (1573-76) :

Early conciliatory
policy of
Requesens.

Rejection of
William's
demands.

Siege of
Leyden,
1574.

Requesens, an able soldier, a sensible and moderate man, succeeded Alva as governor. He abolished the *Council of Blood* and proclaimed a general pardon. But as matters proceeded much under Alva and as the people lost all confidence in Spanish rule, further, as Requesens compelled by Philip rejected William's demands—the withdrawal of Spanish troops and the restoration of the old constitution and religious freedom—the revolted provinces refused to submit. Hence Requesens had no other alternative than to use force. He laid siege to the famous city of *Leyden* (1574). The city held out for seven months, after which the desperate defenders ordered by William, cut open the dykes and inundated their city and the surrounding districts. This enabled the 'Seabeggars' to reach the town in their ships and relieve the famishing city. To commemorate this brave defence, the University of Leyden, was, subsequently founded, on William's suggestion. Requesens' policy of military subjugation failed, and before he could adopt any other, he died (1576).

The Pacification of Ghent (1576) :

The sudden death of Requesens produced important changes. Before the arrival of a new governor, the Spanish troops, left leaderless and without pay, plundered and brutally sacked the rich city of *Antwerp*. Enraged at

this '*Spanish Fury*', the southern provinces, though clung to Catholicism and well disposed to Spanish rule, united with the rebellious northerners, and in the *Pacification of Ghent* (1576), united Netherlands proclaimed William as their Stadtholder, and agreed to expel the Spanish army, to establish religious liberty, and to convene a federal assembly. One characteristic fact of this union was that it was an alliance of *two* Protestant and *fifteen* Catholic provinces under Protestant leadership ; it was thus a 'national union' in its true sense.

Rule of Don John of Austria (1576-78) :

Philip II's half-brother, Don John, next came as governor (1576). In the face of general union, he could not but confirm the *Pacification of Ghent* by issuing the *Perpetual Edict* and promised the immediate removal of troops (1577). Hampered by Philip's commands, however, he soon broke his promises and alienated the states. But as the nobles of the southern provinces distrusted William, and as the Catholic south felt an antipathy towards the intolerant Calvinistic north, Don John succeeded in getting possession of several fortresses and towns, and after a great victory over the revolutionary forces at *Gembloux*, he suddenly died (1578).

Administration of Prince Alexander of Parma, (1578-92) :

Alexander Farnese, the Prince of Parma, another distinguished general of his age and an excellent diplomat, succeeded Don John as governor (1578). He pursued his predecessor's policy with success. William's disorderly foreign troops were oppressing the people, and

Southern
provinces
won over
by Alva.

The
Union of
Utrecht
1579.

The 'Ban'
and the
'Apology',
1580.

Declaration
of
Independence
by the
Dutch,
1581.

Assassina-
tion of
William of
Orange—his
character.

the shrewd governor easily won over the southern or Belgiac provinces to Spain by promising to restore their national political institutions and by flattering their Catholic prejudices. William of Orange, unable to maintain the Pacification of Ghent, united the seven northern provinces by the *Treaty of Utrecht*, and thus laid the foundation of the Dutch Republic (1579). Philip, now resolved to put an end to the life of William, published his notorious 'Ban' (1580), condemning the Prince as "an enemy of human race" and offering substantial rewards for his assassination. The Prince responded in his famous 'Apology' denying to Philip the title of king of the Netherlands which, he said, Philip had forfeited by his violation of the most sacred obligations to his people whom he had mercilessly oppressed and massacred.

In 1581 the separation of the united Netherlands from Spain was publicly announced in the memorable '*Declaration of Independence*', and the sovereignty of the provinces was given to Francis, Prince of Anjou. But his highhanded actions and the brutal massacre of the inhabitants of Antwerp by his troops, (known as the '*French Fury*') cost him his throne (1583). In 1584 the Dutch provinces drew up an independent republican constitution under William of Orange, and declared their union as Republic.

The Establishment of the Dutch Republic :

Balthasar Gerard a Roman Catholic fanatic, instigated by Philip II, fatally shot William (1584). Thus died a man who was "as long as he lived, the guiding star of a whole brave nation". He had a genuine love for his country. and his heroic self-sacrifice earned for him the

love of all classes of people who called him 'Father William'.

Alexander Farnese, now easily reduced the southern provinces which became the Spanish Netherlands, and conquered almost all the northern provinces except Holland and Zealand. But William's son, Prince Maurice of Nassau, now elected Stadtholder, though young in age, proved equal to the situation. He continued the struggle and soon drew the sympathy of the English Queen Elizabeth. England helped the Dutch, with men and money, and destroyed the '*Invincible Armada*' (1588). Again Henry of Navarre, while fighting for Protestantism in France, indirectly helped Maurice by engaging Philip II's attention in France and even directly assisted him when he came to the throne of France. Alexander Farnese died (1592) and Philip II followed him in 1598.

Continuance
of the
struggle
under
Maurice
of Nassau.

Still the war continued under Philip III, successor of Philip II, and the brave Dutch and English sailors swept home and foreign waters clear of Spanish ships. Philip III now concluded a twelve years' truce (1609) which was in reality an acknowledgment by Spain of the Independence of the United Provinces of the Netherlands. Spain did not formally recognise the independence of the Dutch Republic until forty years afterwards, in the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which closed the Thirty Years' War. (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII.*)

Failure of
Philip III
and the
Truce of
1609.

Constitution of the Dutch Republic :

The new republic was a confederation of provinces and each province was a confederation of towns. A burgher aristocracy monopolised the political power of the towns, and the town

The disruptive tendencies of the new Republic counter-balanced by federal institutions.

councils were either co-opted or elected by small bodies. The disruptive tendencies of such a constitution were counterbalanced by the federal institutions, *viz.*, the States-general which exercised legislative authority, and the Council of State, which exercised executive authority. The Stadtholder presided over the Council and was elected generally from the House of Orange, but he was in no sense a king. The powers of the federal institutions were however extremely limited and were jealously watched by the local governments.

Effects of the War on the new Republic :

1. Strengthening of the nation.

2. Increase in population.

3. Commercial prosperity.

4. Intellectual advancement.

5. Championship for political freedom.

The nation gained in strength and energy during the desperate war of independence, which contributed largely towards the commercial and intellectual progress of the country in the 17th century. The 'rebel provinces', particularly Holland and Zealand, increased rapidly in population, and the Dutch cities became the workshops and warehouses of the world. The Dutch became a great maritime power, and began to trade extensively with Asia, Africa, and America and soon monopolised the trading-posts in the East Indies. They made their Universities seats of original learning and thinking, and special contributions were made by their scholars in the natural and mechanical sciences—specially in the departments of Hydrostatics and Hydraulics. Their country became the home of the persecuted scholars and the nursery for the English Puritans who fought for English freedom in the 17th century.

Decay of the Belgiac Provinces :

The Catholic provinces of the south became the Spanish Netherlands under Alexander of Parma. The Belgians, being deprived of their political power and sapped of their energy and vitality, soon lost their material prosperity. In 1595, the Belgiac provinces passed under the Austrian House of Hapsburgh, when Philip II gave them as a dowry to his daughter Isabella on her marriage with Archduke Albert of Austria.

CHAPTER VI.

The Religious Wars in France.

Origin of the French Reformation :

Beginning
of the
movement.

'In its inception,' the Reformation in France was '*a national spontaneous movement.*' Awakened by the spirit of the Renaissance and coming into contact with other countries as a consequence of the Italian wars, a small group of Humanists like Lefebvre and others began to criticise the established faith, even before Luther posted his 'Ninety-five Theses' at Wittenburg. The movement started by Luther in Germany gave a fresh impetus to these French Reformers, who also began to attack the abuses in the church which were as prevalent in France, as in other countries, specially after the *Concordat* of 1515 between Francis I and Pope Leo X giving the Crown right to appoint to ecclesiastical dignities.

Attitude of
Francis I
towards the
movement.

Francis I, (1515-47) who made religion subservient to politics, needed the help of the Pope in his ambitious struggle with Emperor Charles V (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. I.*), and in order to maintain a national unity in France at that time began to oppose the Reformers. At the instigation of the Sorbonne the Roman Catholic seminary of Paris, he issued a series of heartless edicts against heresy, and from 1523 execution of heretics went on. In 1545 the Vaudois or Waldenses of Provence were exterminated by Francis for their Protestant faith, and his policy of persecution of

the adherents of the Reformed faith was carried on vigorously even after his death.

The number of the Protestants in France increased so rapidly in spite of these persecutions, that in 1555 organisation into churches began on the Calvinistic model, and the name, *Huguenot*, imported from Geneva, was applied to these Reformers probably in derision—the term apparently meaning ‘a crowd hastily gathering’.

Rapid progress of Calvinism in France —the Huguenots.

Outbreak of the Wars of Religion (1562-98) :

Origin of the Wars :

Henry II, (1547-59) the son and successor of Francis I, was an ardent Catholic and followed his father's policy of persecution, created a special department of the Parlement known as the ‘*Burning Chamber*’, issued edicts against heresy and put many Protestants to death. After the conclusion of the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis with Philip II of Spain (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. I.*), when bigoted Henry was thinking of adopting more repressive measures against the Huguenots he died unexpectedly (1559).

The measures adopted by Henry II against the reformers.

Francis II, (1559-60) who succeeded his father Henry II, was too young and physically and mentally feeble. His mother Catharine de Medici, the ‘*Macchiavellian Eve*’ of Europe in the 16th century was an inordinate lover of power, and she seized this opportunity to rule the country through her son. Quite destitute of religious convictions, she thought to rule by setting one religious party as a counterpoise to the other. No crime, however heinous, she feared to commit in order to gain her ends, and even encouraged her royal sons to indulge in

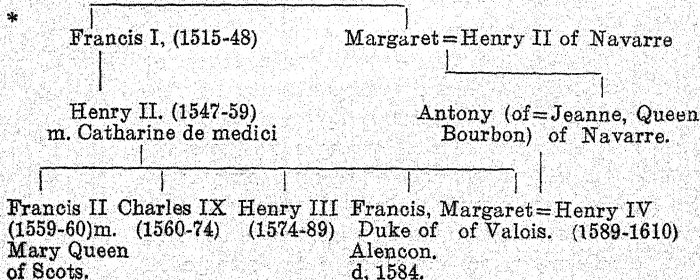
Francis II a puppet in the hands of Catharine de Medici.

The
reactionary
policy of
the Guises
towards the
Huguenots.

The
Bourbons
and the
Chatillons
supported
the
Huguenots.

The
conspiracy
of
Amboise
leading
to the

vicious courses of life to make them more dependent. But before she could establish her influence Francis fell altogether in the hands of his wife Mary Queen of Scots' two uncles, the Guises—Francis Duke of Guise, the conqueror of Calais, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. Cardinal of Lorraine controlled the government, and Duke of Guise controlled the army. Being firm supporters of Catholicism, the Guises, in close connection with Philip II of Spain and the Pope began to persecute the Huguenots vigorously. The nobles, hated them as foreigners, and assembled under the Bourbon Princes, Antony of Navarre and Louis Prince of Condé, (who had a better claim to direct the policy of the kingdom than the Guises as the nearest male heirs to the throne after Henry II's children*) to offer resistance to the crown and to support the cause of the Huguenots. The Bourbons were closely allied with the Chatillons, another distinguished noble family of France, one of whom, Admiral Coligny, was a champion of the Huguenots. Encouraged by Prince of Condé a conspiracy was made at Amboise (1560) to seize the person of the king, but it leaked out.



So the Guises, in fear, relaxed their policy of persecution by an edict, which while forbidding public worship to the Huguenots gave them liberty of conscience. *Henceforward the Reform movement in France assumed a political character.*

Charles IX, (1560-74), a minor brother of Francis II, succeeded on his death, and the Queen-mother Catharine became the Regent. The policy of toleration was continued, and was even given a wider extension in 1562 when the Huguenots were allowed to worship anywhere. The Catholics, being enraged, formed themselves into a league under Constable Montmorency and the Duke of Guise, to suppress the Huguenots, and they got support from Spain, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, and the Pope and his priesthood in the civil war which became imminent. On March 1, 1562 the Duke of Guise with his 200 followers while travelling to Paris discovered a group of Huguenots worshipping at Vassy and massacred them wantonly. This *Massacre of Vassy* led the Huguenots to take up arms under Louis of Conde', and they received assistance from the German Protestant princes and the Protestant Queen Elizabeth of England. The wars of religion thus broke out in France (1562).

moderation
of the
Guises.

Massacre
of the
Huguenots
at Vassy
by the
Duke of
Guise and
the outbreak
of the
civil wars.

Periods of the Wars :

The First War :

Antony of Navarre, who had turned an apostate and joined the Catholic party was killed at the *Siege of Rouen*, and an indecisive battle was fought at *Dreux* (1562). The assassination of the Duke of Guise ended the first war, and the

Peace of
Amboise.

Peace of Amboise granted toleration to the reformed religion in certain places (1563).

The Second War :

1567-68 :

The Huguenots, who had no faith in the Queen-mother's moderation as she lent her ears to Spanish dictation, became frightened at Alva's cruel policy in the Netherlands. They formed a conspiracy at Meaux in 1567 to carry off the king, which led to the second war. Montmorency was killed at the indecisive battle of *St. Denis* (1567). The *Treaty of Longjumeau* concluded the war, confirming the treaty of Amboise (1568).

Treaty of
Long-
jumeau.

The Third War :

1568-70 :

Catharine, finding that continued toleration would be fatal to royal power, published an edict prohibiting public worship of the Huguenots and ordering their preachers to leave France within a fortnight. The third war broke out, and Condé was killed at *Jarnac*, and Coligny who succeeded him as general was defeated at *Moncontour* (1569). The *Treaty of St. Germain* (1570) ended the war securing toleration to the Huguenots and four fortified towns as places of refuge, of which *Lá Rochelle* became their headquarters and enabled them to keep connections with England and the Netherlands.

Treaty of
St. Germain.

The Fourth War :

1572-73 :

Charles IX now changed his policy, made negotiations with England and the Netherlands, broke up connections with Spain, proposed the marriage of his younger brother Henry of Anjou with Elizabeth, invited Coligny into court who had much influence, and betrothed his sister Margaret of Valois to Henry of Navarre, (after-

Changed
attitude
of the
French
court.

wards, Henry IV of France), son of Antony of Navarre—the head of the House of Bourbon and leader of the Huguenots. All this meant conciliating the Huguenots. Such a reversal of the royal policy led Catharine and Henry of Anjou to force impulsive Charles IX to order the *Massacre of St. Bartholomew* (Aug. 24, 1572). The Huguenots had gathered in Paris to celebrate the marriage of Henry of Navarre and they were massacred by the Catholic Parisian mob instigated by Catharine and the Guise, Cardinal Lorraine. Coligny and about 20,000 Huguenots were brutally murdered in Paris and other places. The Huguenots revolted, and began to resist at *Lá Roché* (1572). Meanwhile a new party arose—the *Politiques*—under the Montmorencies who adhered to neither of the two rival creeds, hated the Guises and insisted on religious toleration. Peace was made with the Huguenots by the Edict of July, 1573, granting them liberty of conscience and liberty of worship in three towns including *Lá Roché*.

Massacre of
St. Bartholo-
mew, 1572.

Rise of the
'Politiques'.

The Fifth War :

Charles IX died (1574) and was succeeded by his brother Henry III (1574-89) who also, influenced by his mother Catharine, adopted the policy of persecution. The war was renewed. The *Politiques* being very prominent and being joined by Francis of Alencon, young Prince of Condé, Henry of Navarre, and the Elector Palatine were able to secure the Huguenots, by the *Peace of Monsieur* (1576), free exercise of their religion everywhere except in Paris.

Peace of
Monsieur.

The Sixth War :

The States-general which was summoned at

Edict of
Poitiers,
1577.

Blois at the demand of the allies, was strongly opposed to the Huguenots who armed again. The king issued the *Edict of Poitiers* (1577), granting (a) protestant worship in all places where it was exercised on the day of the treaty (b) one town in each district and nine fortified places of refuge to the Huguenots, and (c) permission to appoint four judges, out of twelve, from the Protestants in the Parlements of France.

The Seventh War :

1579-80.

Peace
of Fleix.

The terms of the former peace not being properly carried out, sporadic outbreaks took place. A conference of the two parties was held at Nerac which explained and confirmed the provisions of the edict (1599). The Catholics however did not rest satisfied and war broke out with the seizure of *Cahors* by Henry of Navarre (1580) ; several desultory skirmishes took place both in the south and the north. *Peace of Fleix* terminated the war on the same terms as agreed at Nerac. The religious struggle seemed likely to close and France enjoyed peace for five years.

The Eighth War, or the War of the three Henries :

1585-89,
Henry of
Navarre
heir to the
throne :

The
Catholic
League

In 1584 Francis of Anjou-Alencon, the king's brother, died, and Henry III being childless, Henry of Navarre was the only surviving male member of the House of Valois. Thus there was the chance of a Huguenot succession to the throne of France. Moreover, a peaceful settlement of religious discords in France by the Edict of Poitiers was against the ambitious policy of Philip II of Spain. At the instigation of Spain, the *Catholic League* was formed in 1584 under Henry, Duke of Guise, to defend Roman Catholicism in France and to proclaim

Henry of Navarre's uncle, the Cardinal of Bourbon, a Catholic, as heir to the throne. Under pressure from the league, Henry III withdrew the toleration, and the war broke out, Henry of Navarre, Henry of Guise, and King Henry III being the heads of the *three parties* in the war.

The Huguenots under Henry of Navarre won the *battle of Coutras* (1587). The Duke of Guise defeated the German troops who were assisting the Huguenots and his popularity increased immensely in Paris, the stronghold of Catholicism. Henry III could not prevent the Duke of Guise from entering Paris, and finding himself powerless at his capital fled from Paris. Indignantly resolved to put an end to his humiliation, King Henry invited the Duke of Guise to a conference in the royal cabinet, and had him treacherously assassinated (1588). This led to a revolt in Paris and establishment of provisional government there, and in many other large towns. Henry III now allied with Henry of Navarre to lay siege to Paris, but was stabbed by a monk. *The House of Valois now came to an end.*

Henry of Navarre continued the war to gain the throne and finding that the league, supported by Spain, could not be scattered, put an end to the quarrel by abjuring his faith and formally adopting Catholicism to the great joy of the Catholic party. Thus having no opposition, he was solemnly crowned king as Henry IV (1594), and *the Bourbon dynasty was established in France.*

The Edict of Nantes (1598) :

The conversion of Henry IV was purely a

Henry IV
issued the
edict, 1598.

political measure, because thus he won the attachment of the Catholic majority, and while still enjoying the love and confidence of the Protestants he issued the *Edict of Nantes* (April, 1598) which—(1) granted the Huguenots liberty of conscience and right to public service in all places as in 1577, (2) granted them admission to all schools and colleges as well as to all offices and (3) threw open the Parlements to both the Catholics and the Protestants. Thus the Catholics and the Protestants were placed on the same footing for all practical purposes, though the Catholic church continued to be the State-Church in France and retained its revenues. The importance of the Edict lies in the fact that "*it was the first formal, though qualified, recognition, by a great European state, of the principle of religious toleration and equality.*"

Effects and
importance
of the edict.

Government of Henry IV (1594-1610) :

Conclusion
of the war
with Spain.

Securing peace at home, Henry IV secured peace abroad by concluding the war with Philip II of Spain, waged in 1595 for supporting the Catholic league, by the Peace of Vervins (1598) which confirmed the former treaty of Cateau-Cambresis and all conquests by Spain were restored.

Financial
difficulties
of Henry.

Henry was now confronted with new difficulties. Financial reform was urgent, as the state of the finances had become deplorable since the death of Francis I. Corruption prevailed in the offices ; money was raised by reckless ways ; tax-payers had been reduced by the sale of the patents of nobility ; the public debt had become heavy, the expenditure being ten times the revenue. So Henry appointed his friend the Duke of Sully. a man of strict honesty, as his

Finance minister. The reforms of Sully restored the national finances. He (1) abolished many sinecure offices, (2) made seats in the *Parlément*, which up till now could be purchased, hereditary on an annual payment called the *Paulette* (3) revoked the patents of nobility, (4) improved the system of revenue-collection, (5) reduced the expenditure of the state and enforced economy in every department, (6) recovered crown-lands from private persons, and (7) revived and greatly developed agriculture. Henry himself did his best to encourage manufacture and commerce by establishing ports, introducing silk-manufacture and sending out discoverers for colonising in America. Moreover Henry built innumerable churches, fine palaces, bridges, convents, hospitals, fortresses etc. All these measures revived the national prosperity in France and paved the way for the centralisation of the monarchy. *"But for the government of Henry IV there could have been no Age of Louis XIV."*

Financial
reforms of
Sully

Other
reforms
of Henry.

His foreign policy was to establish the supremacy of France at the expense of Spanish and Austrian Houses of Hapsburgs, but he could not carry it out as he was assassinated by Ravallac, a Jesuit fanatic (1610). He was an affable gentleman, a brave soldier, an able politician, and an intelligent ruler. His paternal solicitude for his humblest subjects is to be noticed from his oft-quoted saying, "If I live, the poorest peasant shall have a fowl to put in his pot on Sundays." In spite of his many virtues, he was wanting in fixed principles and was a through-going seeker of sensual pleasures.

Henry's
plan and
death.

Henry's
character.

Though the government of Henry IV contributed distinctly to the material progress of France, critics point out that he did not effort

Character
of Henry's
government.

to train his subjects in constitutional government and left France the fatal legacy of over-centralisation which being perfected by the Great Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, led to the French Revolution of 1789. But the French people, just emerging from a chronic civil war, were not fit for the political experiment in the art of self-government.

Reformation completed under Richelieu :

Successive
revolts
of the
Huguenots :

Siege and
capture of
Lá Rochélie
—Political
power of the
Huguenots
broken.

The Edict of Nantes had secured not only toleration for the Huguenots but also some amount of political power, giving them some fortified towns. They thus became a 'state within a state,' and gave much trouble to the government of Louis XIII. The re-establishment of Catholicism in Bearn by royal authority in 1620, alarmed the Huguenots who armed themselves at Lá Rochélie, and revolted. They were however suppressed and compelled to accept the *Treaty of Montpellier* (1623), which confirmed the Edict of Nantes and robbed their fortified towns except Lá Rochélie and Montauban. In 1625, another revolt under Soubise and Rohan was put down. The Huguenots again revolted in 1627 ; the English failed to aid the rebels effectually, and Lá Rochélie, the last stronghold, was compelled by *Richelieu* to surrender (1628), thus giving a death-blow to Protestantism as a political force in France, though the true principles of toleration as secured by Edict of Nantes were not interfered with. Thus Protestantism as a religion was established in France and it was further secured by the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648) which concluded the Thirty Years' War and secured all Reformed faiths in the European countries.

CHAPTER VII.

The Thirty Years' War in Germany.

Europe on the eve of the Thirty Years' War :

Through the influence of the Counter-Reformation, the South (Italy, Spain, and Portugal) remained wholly Catholic ; France too remained so, though a few Huguenots secured toleration by the Edict of Nantes, and the Belgians separated from the Protestant Dutch returned to the rule of Catholic Spain. But the Catholic reaction failed in England and Sweden before the forces of the Protestant movement. In Germany the same struggle between the Protestant movement and Catholic reaction was going on before it gave rise to a devastating war—the Thirty Years' War—which settled all religious disputes and drew a permanent line of demarcation between Protestant Europe and Catholic Europe.

Effects of the Counter-Reformation in the European countries.

Continuance of the religious war in Germany.

Progress of Protestantism in Germany, and the Catholic reaction :

The articles of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*) were defective in character. They had authorised the secular princes to fix the religion of their subjects, and thus a great bitterness of feeling was created between the different religious bodies. The validity of the clause known as the '*Ecclesiastical Reservation*' was not admitted by the Lutherans,

Hopes of the Catholics to check further progress of

Protestantism in Germany not fulfilled.

Reigns of Ferdinand I (1556-64), and Maximilian II (1564-76) and the advance of Protestantism.

The influence of the Jesuits and the beginning of the Catholic reaction.

Religious policy of Rudolf II (1676-1612)

Protestant disunion and the progress of the reaction.

who evading it got many of the Catholic bishoprics in North Germany into Protestant hands, and this was bitterly opposed by the Catholics. The expectations of the Catholics to stay the further progress of Protestantism were thus frustrated, and the number of the Protestants went on increasing so rapidly that nine-tenths of the population of the Empire were at this time Protestant. Charles V's successor, Ferdinand I took no steps to repress reform, and his son Maximilian II followed a policy of enlightened toleration. Moreover, shortly after the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinism spread through the south and west of Germany, though the articles of the treaty gave toleration to the Lutherans only.

The Catholics roused themselves from the lethargy into which they had fallen and gathering their forces under the leadership of the Jesuits boldly undertook to reconquer Germany. These Jesuits, being admitted into Germany by Ferdinand I, by every means in their power—by preaching, by educating, by intriguing, by persuasion, by force or fraud—roused the Catholic princes to adopt a more active policy in their dominions. Bavaria, where Protestantism was put down by Albert III, became the centre of the Catholic reaction. Emperor Rudolf II, the successor of Maximilian II, identified himself wholly with Catholicism by expelling the Protestant preachers from Vienna. This Catholic reaction was further facilitated by the disunion among the Protestants themselves who became divided into two hostile camps *viz.* the Lutherans protected by the Duke of Saxony, and the Calvinists by the Elector Palatine.

The Protestant Union, and the Catholic League :

The Catholics in 1582 refused to admit Joachim, the Protestant Bishop of Magdeburg, into the Diet. A similar attempt was made by them to exclude the deputies of Aachen, a Catholic city converted to Protestantism, but it proved unsuccessful. Archbishop Truchsess of Col6gne, being married and having adopted Calvinism, was easily driven out of his see by the Catholics, as he received no support from the Lutherans. The Catholics, now having a majority in the Imperial Chamber, began to decide all legal disputes against the Protestants. The ancient *Aulic Council*, a mere private court of the Emperor, was revived and strengthened. The Protestant free city of Donauworth was placed under the imperial ban by the Aulic Council at the instance of Rudolf II and was annexed by Bavaria. All Protestant Germany was alarmed, and in 1608 a confederation was formed among the Protestant states, called the '*Protestant Union*,' under the presidency of the Elector Palatine Frederick at the instance of his able minister Christian of Anhalt. The league enlisted the sympathies of England, Holland, and of Henry IV of France. In opposition to the Union, the Catholics too formed a league of their own, called the *Catholic League*, at Munich under the leadership of Maximilian of Bavaria (1609). All Germany thus became prepared to burst into a fresh religious war.

Disputes
between the
Protestants
and the
Catholics.

The
Aulic
council and
its high-
handedness.

The
formation
of the
Union and
the League.

The Thirty Years' War, (1618-48) :

Its Causes :

The *real cause* of the war was, of course,

Real
causes of
the war ;
(a) Reli-
gious ;

(b) Political ;

(c) Econo-
mical.

Immediate
causes of
the war :

the religious disturbances in Germany due to the Catholic reaction after the Peace of Augsburg and the Protestant dissensions ; but along with them political and economical causes also largely contributed to its origin. The Imperial constitution had become weak and inefficient, and the territorial princes grew powerful enough to undertake all sorts of ambitious projects. "The awe inspired by the political greatness of Charles V, the respect secured by Ferdinand I's subordination of his own wishes to the interests of the Empire, the good will which could hardly be refused to Maximilian II's kindly latitudinarianism—had come to be forgotten in the hopelessness of a rule so important and so perverse as that of Rudolf II." With the rise of the princes and religious differences among the people, the German unity was jeopardised. Moreover, the economical condition of the country was hopelessly bad. The productive power of the country generally decreased, and this together with the debasement of coins brought the country almost on the verge of bankruptcy. Prices of articles rose and it pressed hard enough upon the purses of the poor people, while the middle and higher classes lived a life of intemperance and vice. Trade, both home and foreign, was doomed, and national industry was ruined. This economic distress and the consequent social disquietude became so great that people seriously looked forward to a revolution that would put an end to their miseries.

But there could be no doubt of the fact, that whether through religious differences, political weakness, or economic distress, Germany was already in a nascent state of war. It was precipitated into mortal struggles by—

(a) *The succession question in Julich and Cleve*: On the death of the reigning Duke, John Sigismund of Brandenburg and Wolfgang William, both Lutherans, claimed the duchies (1609). Against the Protestant succession, Emperor Rudolf himself claimed the fiefs. The duchies, however went to the two rival claimants as joint possessors. Soon however they quarrelled; Wolfgang became a Catholic and joined the Catholic League against Brandenburg. War became imminent, but it did not immediately break out.

Disputed
succession
in Julich
and Cleve.

(b) *Dissensions in the Austrian family*: After the death of Maximilian II, the Imperial Crown as well as his hereditary dominions—Austria, Hungary and Bohemia—passed to his eldest son, Rudolf II. Rudolf's attempts to put down the Protestant doctrines, and political privileges of his subjects in the hereditary dominions, led to revolts. Under these circumstances, other members of the royal family compelled Rudolf to cede Austria and Hungary to Matthias, his brother, who had to make many concessions. Taking advantage of Rudolf's difficulties, the Bohemians, who were Protestants, extorted from him the 'Letter of Majesty' (1609) which gave them liberty of conscience. But when Rudolf tried to evade the terms, the Bohemians declared Matthias as their king (1611). Shortly after Rudolf died and Matthias himself became Emperor (1612). Matthias, now, sought to evade the concessions already granted to the Protestants, and the result was that the Emperor's authority was wholly disregarded both in Austria and Bohemia. At the Diet at Ratisbon (1613), the Emperor's demand of aid against the threatened Turkish invasion was

Rivalry
between
Emperor
Rudolf II
and
Matthias.

Accession
of Matthias,
(1612-19)
and his
quarrel
with the
Bohemian
Assembly.

refused unless the religious disputes were settled, and the Diet was dissolved. There was a practical collapse of all orderly constitutional arrangements.

Bohemia forced to acknowledge Ferdinand who adopted violent anti-Protestant policy.

(c) *Succession question of Ferdinand II to the Hapsburgh territories*: Matthias being old and childless his cousin Ferdinand of Styria, a bigotted Roman Catholic was nominated heir to the throne. Bohemia which was anti-Catholic, refused to recognise Ferdinand, but was forced to acknowledge him simultaneously by promises and threats (1617). Once he had got his rights, he began to suppress Protestantism. Ferdinand disregarded the 'Letter of Majesty', demolished Protestant churches, and entrusted the government of Bohemia to two fanatical Catholics, Martinite and Slawata. The Bohemians led by Count Thurn took up arms and the war broke out first in Bohemia (1618).

Character of the War, and its Periods :

The war, at first a civil war in Germany, absorbed all the local struggles in Europe, and developed into a great European war.

The war was at first a civil war between two religious sections of the Empire. The main question before the war, as it began, was 'the future of Protestantism.' This question was keenly watched by other European states where it was either settled or was in the process of settlement. To this question of European interest was added, soon, the political problems of the time, and the war gradually absorbed into itself all the local struggles of Europe. The quarrels of the Alpine Leagues and those about the succession of Mantua, the rivalries between Scandinavia and Poland, the perennial strife between Spain and France for predominance in Italy and elsewhere all contributed to the sweep of the current. Even the Ottoman empire was

interested in its progress. "All the wars that are on foot in Europe" wrote Gustavus Adolphus, the Protestant hero of the war, "have been fused together and have become a single war." The war may, however, be conveniently divided into the following periods :—

The Periodical divisions of the war.

I. The Religious Period of the war, 1618-1634 :

- (1) The Bohemian-Palatine Period, (1618-23).
- (2) The Danish Period, (1624-30).
- (3) The Swedish Period, (1630-40).

II. The International Period of the war, or

- (4) The French-Swedish Period, 1635-1648.

I. The Religious Period of the War :

During this period the war was conducted only from religious motives, and such nations as the Germans, the Danes and the Swedes took active parts in it.

(1) The Bohemian-Palatine Period, (1618-23) :

In this period the war was confined within Germany (Bohemia and the Palatinate). Emperor Ferdinand II, determined to enforce his authority in Bohemia, sent an army against the Bohemians. But the Bohemians led by Counts Thurn and Ernest of Mansfeld drove the imperial troops (1618). The next year, the Bohemians deposed Ferdinand II and gave the Bohemian crown to Elector Palatine Frederick. An army of the Catholic League under Tilly entered Bohemia, defeated Frederick at the *White Hill* (1620) and drove him out of the kingdom where Protestantism was ruthlessly suppressed. In 1622, Spanish troops under Spinola invaded and conquered the Lower Palatinate, and Maximilian of Bavaria conquered the Upper Palatinate.

Mansfeld of Bohemia defeated the imperial troops.

Victory of the Catholic League, and Spanish assistance.

Occupation
of the Palati-
nate by the
Catholics.

His hereditary dominions being conquered, Frederick fled from Germany. But, in 1623, he was put under the Imperial ban and his electoral dignity was forfeited and given to Maximilian of Bavaria. Thus, this period of the war is marked by the absolute triumph of Catholicism, and the advance of the Austrian House of Hapsburgh helped by the Spanish House.

(2) *The Danish Period, (1624-30)*

English
assistance
to Elector
Frederick
and
England's
war with
Spain.

Denmark's
part
in the war.

Wallenstein
raised an
imperial
army and
achieved
successive
victories :

Frederick's misfortunes won him the sympathies of Protestant monarchs, specially of James I of England, his father-in-law. In 1624 James declared war against Spain as Spanish troops had conquered the Lower Palatinate. The next year, James furnished Mansfeld, the Bohemian adventurer, with money and troops to conquer the Palatinate. But Mansfeld's expedition was a complete failure. So too was an English expedition under Buckingham to the port of Cadiz in Spain. Charles I, successor of James I, subsidised king Christian IV of Denmark to make war against the Emperor on behalf of Frederick and all the Protestants. In 1626, Christian invaded Germany as the chief of the Protestant league. The Catholics came to oppose him with two brilliant armies—one of the Catholic League under Tilly, the other under Wallenstein, a Bohemian noble, who raised it at his own cost and maintained it by forced contributions, for the Emperor's service. Tilly totally defeated Christian at *Lutter* and Wallenstein defeated the desperate Mansfeld at the bridge of *Dessau* and drove him to Venetian territory where he died. Wallenstein now drove the Danes from Silesia by defeating them at *Cosel*, and invaded and overran almost all

Danish territories (1627). To complete the humiliation of the Scandinavian kingdoms by reviving the German-maritime power in the Baltic, he then laid siege to *Stralsund*, a Danish port on the sea. (1628). The Danes secretly helped by Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, compelled Wallenstein to raise the siege. Encouraged by this success, Christian IV again invaded Germany, but he was compelled to conclude the *Treaty of Lubeck* (1629), by which he got back his conquered territories and promised to abstain from further interference in German affairs. The next year, hampered by his own people, Charles I made peace with Spain. Thus this period is marked by the climax of Catholic success and the climax of imperial power after Charles V.

Failure of Wallenstein at Stralsund through the Swedish interference.

Treaty of Lubeck. 1629.

Temporary disgrace of Wallenstein :

Such an advance of the Imperial power was due to the fact that the Emperor had no longer to depend upon the army of the Catholic League as in the first period of the war, as also to the superior ability and generalship of Wallenstein, the commander of the Imperial army. All actions of Wallenstein were prompted by his policy of destroying the independence of the German princes and building up a strong united monarchy under the Emperor, with himself as the power behind the throne. Led by ideas of princely independence, the Catholic Electors opposed the imperial policy of Wallenstein and demanded his dismissal. Emperor Ferdinand, in order to please them, published the *Edict of Restitution* (1629) by which the Protestants were ordered to return all church properties which had been secularised by them since the

Reasons for the advance of the imperial power.

Wallenstein's imperial policy, and the demand of the Catholic princes for his dismissal. Edict of Restitution issued by Ferdinand II, 1629.

Wallenstein's
opposition
and his
dismissal.

Peace of Passau in 1552. But as the edict met with opposition from Wallenstein, the Electors threatened to join France, the old enemy of the Hapsburgs. Consequently, the Emperor had to dismiss Wallenstein and to transfer the command of his army to Tilly (1630). Thus, was the Imperial power once more shadowed by that of the Catholic League, and the great general had to take leave of his army, at a moment, when Germany was threatened by an invasion from Sweden.

(3) *The Swedish Period, (1630-34) :*

Inter-
vention of
Gustavus
Adolphus
of Sweden.

Success of
Gustavus
who
became
the hero of
Protestant
Germany.

Richelieu, the politic minister of Louis XIII of France, urged Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to espouse the Protestant cause in Germany and to give a blow to the lofty position of the Austrian Hapsburgs, promising to help him with money. Gustavus, as he was a staunch Protestant and also as he feared any attempt of the Emperor to establish the German maritime supremacy in the Baltic, landed, with financial help from France, at Usedom and conquered the Southern Baltic coast (1630). He however being foreigner, the German Protestants hesitated to recognise him as their leader. But when an army under Tilly, captured, plundered, and sacked the Protestant city of Magdeburg (1631), they joined with him. Gustavus now utterly defeated Tilly at *Breitenfeld* (1631). This victory established his military fame and laid all Germany at his feet. Hailed as the hero of Protestant Germany, he now proceeded towards Bavaria, the stronghold of Catholicism. At the *battle of Lech* (1632), Tilly was killed ; then Bavaria was conquered. Gustavus next planned to march upon Vienna. The Emperor, in his danger, re-

instated Wallenstein at the command of the imperial troops (1632). The army of the League, left leaderless, also hailed him as their general. Gustavus and Wallenstein met at *Lutzen* (1632) where Gustavus died in the lap of victory, averting "the overthrow with which Protestantism was threatened in Germany." Wallenstein also was assassinated by a band of Scotch and Irish mercenaries (1634). The Swedes, defeated by the Imperialists at *Nordlingen* (1634), were driven from Southern Germany, Richelieu, seeing that Sweden without its king was no match for the Emperor, openly joined her (1635), and declared war against both Houses of the Hapsburgs.

Wallenstein's second command.

Battles of Lutzen, and Nordlingen.

Richelieu entered the war.

II. *The International Period of the War :*

(4) *The French-Swedish Period, (1635-48) :*

The war was no longer a religious war. France and Sweden fought against the Emperor and Spain only to obtain territories. France was fighting for the Rhine frontier, Sweden for Pomerania. The Lutherans, alarmed at French interference in Germany, made peace with the Emperor at *Prague* (1635), by which the Edict of Restitution was revoked, and only Lutheranism was recognised as a privileged religion. By 1636, the Swedes were driven to the Baltic, and the French from the Rhine. In 1637 Ferdinand II died and was succeeded by Ferdinand III. The French attacked *Alsace* and took it (1639). On Richelieu's death (1642), Mazarin carried on his policy. The French generals, Condé and Turenne, proved very successful. The Spaniards were defeated at *Rockroy* (1643), the Imperialists

Treaty of Prague between the Lutherans and the Emperor.

Accession of Ferdinand III, 1637.

Mazarin continued the policy of Richelieu.

End of the
war, 1648.

at Freiburg (1644) and at *Nordlingen* (1645). In the meantime, the Swedes invaded Bohemia and defeated the Imperialists at *Janów* (1645). Both parties being now exhausted concluded the *Peace of Westphalia* (1648).

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) :

I. Religious
settlements :

The lines laid down at Passau and Augsburg were followed ; the Calvinists secured toleration ; secularisations of church-properties before 1624 were confirmed ; the Imperial Chamber was to consist of equal number of Catholics and Protestants. But toleration granted was merely of the old kind—the toleration of the *Princes* and not of the *Individuals*.

II. Territorial
changes :

France obtained the Austrian possessions of Upper and Lower Alsace, also Metz, Toul and Verdun ; Sweden got the command of the Baltic by the cession of Western Pomerania, the bishoprics of Bremen and Verden ; Brandenburg acquired Magdeburg, Minden, Halberstadt and Eastern Pomerania ; Maximilian of Bavaria retained the Upper Palatinate and his Electoral dignity, while an eighth electorate was created for Charles Lewis, the son of Elector Palatine Frederick ; independence of the Swiss cantons and of the United Netherlands were recognised ; the Dutch were allowed to retain their colonial conquests, and their trade was secured against the rivalry of Antwerp by the closing of the river Scheldt.

III. Other
political
changes :

Independence of the German states was recognised, and they were allowed to make treaties with foreign powers so long as they were not directed against the Emperor or the Empire. A federative system was established

in Germany, and France and Sweden acquired a right of interference in the Empire.

N.B.—The war between France and Spain, however, continued as Spain refused to make adequate territorial concessions to France. Emperor Ferdinand III, on the other hand, was compelled by a new article in the treaty (of Westphalia), neither to fight against France nor to send any assistance to Spain.

General Results of the Thirty Years' War :

The war destroyed German unity and weakened the Imperial authority, Germany became a loose federation in which the Emperor's authority was to be nominal. It drew a permanent line of demarcation between Protestant and Catholic Germany, settled the boundaries of various states and the constitution of the Empire. It secured Protestantism and terminated religious hostilities permanently. It gave birth to the modern system of European politics and a new era of public law. France stepped into supremacy in Europe instead of the Hapsburgs through the exertions of Richelieu and Mazarin.

1. Disruption of Germany :
2. End of religious hostilities :
3. Birth of new political system :
4. Ascendancy of France.

CHAPTER VIII.

Crusade against the Turks.

Solyman the Magnificent, and the Greatness of the Ottoman Turks :

Reign of
Solyman,
(1520-66).

Under Solyman, the son and successor of Sultan Selim, the Turkish power and glory reached its zenith. By his victories he made large additions to his empire. He captured *Rhodes*, an important Catholic outpost in the Levant, from the Knights of St. John ; wrested *Belgrade* from the Hungarian king, whom he defeated and killed afterwards in a battle and destroyed Hungarian independence ; besieged *Vienna* the capital of Austrian Empire without success, and threatened the *south-east of Germany* but retired at the unity of the Empire effected by the Religious Peace of Nuremburg ; subjugated *Morea* and north coast of Africa ; and his powerful fleet routed the allied fleet of *Genoa, Florence, Naples and Malta*. In the course of his last attempt on *Hungary*, the great Sultan died (1566). The Turkish empire now extended from Buda on the Danube to Bussora on the Euphrates ; on the north it was protected against the Poles by the fortress of Kamenietz and against the Russians by walls of Azof ; on the south the rock of Aden commanded the Red Sea ; to the east the empire reached the shores of the Caspian.

Extent of
the Turkish
empire.

Moral and
religious
advance of
the Turks.

Under Solyman, the Ottoman empire not only achieved her territorial greatness but her moral energies never became so much conspi-

cuous. Solyman himself was morally great and his toleration in an age of religious strife and persecution commanded the admiration even of the Christian people.

The Successors of Solyman, and the Decline of the Turks :

Selim II, the unworthy successor of Solyman, depended entirely on his Grand Vizier. In spite of the Vizier's wishes, Cyprus island was captured in time of profound peace and in the most cruel manner. This revived for a time something like the old crusading spirit in Western Europe, and Pope Pius V made a *Holy League* with Spain and Venice to overthrow the Turks. A combined Christian fleet under Don John of Austria defeated the Turkish fleet at Lepanto (1571). Two years after, a conflict took place between the Russians under Ivan the Terrible and the Turks the latter of whom were defeated, Symptoms of decline of the Turkish power had already appeared from the closing years of the reign of Solyman the Magnificent, and the process of decay went on rapidly under Selim II and his three immediate successors owing to official corruption, insubordination of the *Janissaries*, discontinuance of the tribute of children from the conquered provinces, and the disastrous influence of female favourites at the court, till the beginning of the rule of the Grand Viziers in 1656.

Reign of
Selim II.
(1566-74).

Battle of
Lepanto,
1571.

Causes of
the decline
of the
Turks.

BOOK III.
THE ERA OF ABSOLUTISM.

CHAPTER I.

England under the Stuarts.

James I (1603-25) :

Union of
England and
Scotland.

James
estranged
the
Puritans.

The Gun-
powder Plot,
1605.

Foreign
relations.

The Tudor rule, as we have seen, had brought the English nation in safety through a series of crises, both external and internal perils, and at her death Elizabeth left England united and prosperous. James VI of Scotland, the son of Mary Stuart, now succeeded as James I of England thus uniting the two crowns in a 'personal' union. Shortly after, his unwise decision at the *Hampton Court Conference* not to allow liberties regarding ceremonial non-essentials, he estranged the Puritan party within the church, some of whom being deprived of their livings emigrated to Holland and thence to Massachusetts in America to form a nucleus for the Puritan New England of the future. The Catholics too finding no toleration from him formed the famous *Gunpowder Plot* in 1605, but the conspiracy leaked out, the miscreants were executed and the intensity of hatred of the English people against the Catholics increased. Aspiring to be the peace-maker of Europe, James had concluded peace with Spain (1604) and even opened negotiations for a Spanish match with his son. But the Spanish match having failed and Spain and Bavaria having

conquered the Palatinate, the hereditary dominion of his son-in-law Frederick (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII.*). James supported the Bohemian adventurer Mansfeld to conquer the Palatinate on behalf of Frederick (1624).

Meanwhile, the House of Commons, which James's had been submissive to the Tudor kings, ^{quarrel with the} began to reassert its power, and this led to continued quarrels between James and his ^{Parliament.} Parliaments. James, armed with the doctrine of *Divine Right of Kings*, had ordered the levy of a number of questionable taxes without the consent of the Parliament which began to question whether the king had the right to control the nation's purse.

Charles I (1625-49) :

First Five Years of his reign :

Charles I, who succeeded James, followed his father's lofty notions about the *Divine Right of Kings* and hence the old contest between The King and the Parliament was renewed. His first ^{growing un-} Parliament, however, dissolved speedily, as it ^{popularity of} persisted in investigating public grievances and ^{Charles and} the second also met with the same fate when it ^{his quarrel} wanted to impeach Buckingham who had failed ^{with the} in the *Candiz expedition*. Charles now finding ^{Parliament.} no other way of getting money to carry on his government forced the rich to pay him loans and began to exact Benevolences. But failing to meet his needs, when he next summoned the ^{The} Parliament in 1628, it forced him to accept the ^{Petition} *Petition of Right* which declared forced loans ^{of Right} 1628. illegal, and condemned practices like arbitrary arrests, trial by martial law and billeting of troops on householders. This however could

not dispose of the internal troubles and in the Parliament of 1629, Charles was attacked for levying 'Tunnage and Poundage' and for his religious innovations. The king dissolved the Parliament, and began to rule arbitrarily for eleven years without summoning a fresh one. Before the end of 1630, Charles however had made peace with France and Spain.

His Personal Rule, and the Long Parliament :

Exaction of
'Ship-
money'.

The Bishops'
wars.

The Long
Parliament.
and its
measures.

During the eleven years of Charles's personal rule (1629-40), Thomas Wentworth supported the king in establishing royal despotism in civil matters while Archbishop Laud devoted himself in exalting the king's prerogatives in religious matters. Among the illegal taxes levied during the period, 'Ship-money' was refused by Hampden but to no effect. England was ready to rise into open revolt, and events in Scotland hastened the crisis. Archbishop Laud wanted to introduce the English liturgy (slightly modified) into Presbyterian Scotland (1637). The Scots binding themselves by a covenant, began to prepare for war. The two campaigns against the Scots in 1639 and 1640, known as the *Bishops' Wars*, failed miserably and Charles was compelled to summon a Parliament in 1640 which became famous as the *Long Parliament*. It executed Wentworth and Laud, passed Acts abolishing the courts of Star-Chamber and High Commission, declared 'Ship-money' illegal, limited the king's claims on forests, prevented the king from levying 'Tunnage and Poundage' or impositions without a Parliamentary grant.

These measures stripped the Crown of its extraordinary powers acquired since Tudor days.

The Civil War, and his Downfall.

Within a year, however, division took place in the House of Commons on religious questions, and Charles taking advantage of it rallied round him a party. He now began to overawe the Commons, attempted to arrest the five leading members of the opposition (1642) but failed and fled; London took up arms and the civil war broke out. The advantage was at first with the king's party called the *Cavaliers*, but the Parliamentarians, called derisively the *Roundheads*, soon gathered their strength under Oliver Cromwell and his soldiers, the *Ironsides*. A decisive campaign was fought at *Naseby* (1645), and Charles's army was totally defeated by Cromwell. Charles now surrendered to the Scots who gave him up to the English Parliament (1647). The Parliament and its own army now began to quarrel, but Cromwell's lieutenant Colonel Pride 'purged' the House of the refractory members who were trying to negotiate with Charles (1648). The remnants called the 'Rump', now appointed a High Court of Justice, tried Charles and executed him (Jan. 30, 1649). Never was constitutional pedantry carried to its height; the House of Lords had been dissolved for refusing to take part in the trial, the king was gone, and the Commons were a mere fragment; so the English constitution really broke down and the rule of the army began.

Charles's attempt to arrest the five M.P's.

The Cavaliers and the Roundheads.

Defeat of Charles at Naseby, 1645.

"Pride's Purge", 1648.

Trial and execution of Charles, 1649.

Political results of the execution.

The Puritan Revolution (1649-60):

After the execution of the king, a Commonwealth was set up in England, with a provincial

Cromwell
subdued
Ireland and
Scotland.

council of state to manage the executive work. Ireland and Scotland proclaimed Charles II, son of Charles I, as king, but Cromwell subdued Ireland, and defeated the Scots at *Dunbar*. Charles II, escaped to France. Now, England clamoured for permanently settling her constitution, and as the 'Rump' Parliament still thought of clinging to power, Cromwell dismissed it by force and became the Lord Protector of England (1653).

Cromwell
became the
Protector.

Foreign
policy of
Cromwell.

If even there was an absolute monarch in the world, Oliver became one now ; but it cannot be denied that his reign won for England great fame and glory abroad. The first idea of his foreign policy was to pose as the protector of the Protestant interest all over Europe. So the Dutch War, which the Dutch had begun with England for passing of the *Navigation Act*, was brought to an end, and commercial treaties were also made with Sweden, Portugal and Denmark. Shortly after, Cromwell, to his lasting glory, appeared as the friend and protector of the persecuted Protestants, the Vaudois of Provence, and putting pressure through Mazarin on the Duke of Savoy whose subjects they were, secured for them liberty of worship. England also entered into an alliance with France against Spain ; Jamaica was captured by an English fleet and Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands fell into English hands (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. II.*).

Death of
Cromwell
and
anarchy in
England.

But his home-policy to restore constitutional order ended in a failure ; people could not naturally long submit to the rule of a soldier, and when Oliver died in 1658, anarchy followed. His son, Richard Cromwell, could not effectually face the situation and resigned. General George Monk, one of Cromwell's able lieutenants, now declared for a free Parliament and summoning

a convention restored the old constitution and the Stuart rule. Charles II was hailed with delight as the rightful king when he landed at Dover in 1660. Monk restored the Stuarts.

The Restoration and Charles II (1660-95) :

The Restoration brought the Puritan revolution to an end. The people rejoiced to have the king and the Parliament restored, the more so because they could throw off all moral restraints imposed upon the society by the Puritans who had been intolerably grim and morose. Riot and debauchery became the fashion, and Charles, because he was corrupt, witty and amiable, and indulged in the profligacy of the court, assumed the position of a popular hero. Character of the Restoration.

The new Parliament, known as the *Cavalier Parliament*, voted the king a large income, and excluded the non-conformists from municipal offices by passing the *Corporation Act*. The services of the Anglican church were restored by preventing the dissenters from holding meetings for worship by the *Conventicle Act* of 1664. The Cavalier Parliament and its measures.

Foreign relations of Charles II :

A monarch, who identified himself very little with his people and led a riotous life was sure to enter into any engagement with foreign rulers for the satisfaction of his personal desires. The foreign policy of Charles II was accordingly weak and unprofitable, being determined simply by his affection for Louis XIV of France who was exerting to gain ascendancy in Europe. A war broke out with the Dutch (1664) for commercial rivalries ; but owing to slackness on the part of the English government, the Dutch fleet entered the estuary of the Thames, burned some The first Dutch war of the Restoration, 1664-67.

Charles's
intrigues
with
Louis XIV.

The
Second
Dutch war
of the
Restoration,
1672-74.

The
Declaration
of
Indulgence,
1672.

The
Test Act.

English ships and threatened London (1667). The *Peace of Breda* which concluded this war was not popular. Louis XIV was then invading the Spanish Netherlands, and Charles was forced to enter into the *Triple Alliance* with Holland and Sweden to desist the aggressions of Louis. Immediately after, Louis won over Charles by the *Secret Treaty of Dover* (1670). In return for aid which Charles was to render Louis against the Dutch, he was to receive from him a large sum of money, and, in case his subjects resisted him in his proposed declaration in favour of the restoration of the Catholic church, the aid of French troops. In 1672, Charles and Louis fell upon the Dutch, but the Dutch fought so heroically under their Stadtholder William of Orange that under popular pressure Charles had to conclude a peace with them in 1674, and Louis too followed his example by concluding the Peace of Nymegen in 1678 (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III*).

Charles's Religious Policy :

Charles was inclined to Catholic worship, and wished to re-establish the Catholic church. But he saw that toleration to the Catholics could not be granted without giving toleration to the Protestant dissenters. Hence, he issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* (1672) repealing the laws against the Catholics and the dissenters. It raised a stream of public indignation and the Parliament of 1673 compelled Charles to withdraw his declaration. Not satisfied with it the Parliament went further to pass the *Test Act* which compelled all office-holders who were not members of the Anglican church to resign. The rumour of the *Popish*

Plot (1678) to massacre all the Protestants in England alarmed the people, and the famous *Habeas Corpus Act* was hurriedly passed to protect the personal liberty of Englishmen and to provide a safeguard against their illegal detention in prison. A bill was also brought forward to exclude James, Duke of York, the brother of the king, from the throne, he being an avowed Catholic. The bill was passed in the Commons but was rejected by the Lords owing to the influence of the king.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.

The Exclusion Bill, 1679.

The Parliamentary Parties : Whigs and Tories :

The distinct advance in the political life of the nation in the reign of Charles II is the formation of Parliamentary parties. 'A Party,' says Burke, "is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavours the national interest upon some particular principle on which they are all agreed". Such Parties existed in the Long Parliament of 1641: the opponents of arbitrary government in Church and State became known as *Roundheads*, while the supporters of the king received the name of *Cavaliers*. At the Restoration, the Cavaliers were entirely in the ascendant. By the time of the dispute on the Exclusion Bill (1679), the two opposing factions obtained the name of '*Petitioners*' i.e. those who petitioned the king to summon a new Parliament for the early decision of the bill, and '*Abhorrrers*', i.e. who expressed their abhorrence of the petitions as calculated to force the king's will. Shortly afterwards, the former became known as the *Whigs*—the name applied to the Scottish Covenanters of 1648—for their disposition to oppose

Definition of the 'Party'.

Origin of Party-system on the question of the Exclusion Bill, 1679.

Political
programmes
of the Tories
and the
Whigs.

the court which indicated that they were no better than the Covenanting rebels. The latter on the other hand, were called the *Tories*—the name applied to certain Irish robbers—because the supporters of the Duke of York as Catholics were assumed to be Irishmen who were no better than Popish thieves. Roughly speaking, the *Tories* were upholders of absolute monarchy, the *Whigs* desired a monarchy limited by Parliament; both parties being Protestants denied toleration to Catholics, but while the *Whigs* were in favour of toleration for Dissenters, the *Tories* stood for no toleration at all. Henceforward the Whigs and the Tories play an important part in the Parliamentary history of England.

James II (1685-88):

Circumstances
leading
to the
Glorious
Revolution.

(a) The
despotic
course of
actions
of king
James II:

Charles died in 1685 and was succeeded by his Romanist brother James who at once expressly adopted a Catholic policy. He left himself strong enough to openly violate the Test Act by appointing officers disqualified by law. The dislike of the nation towards him increased, and it was further developed by the alarm caused by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in France (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III.*). James, now, went further and issued two *Declarations of Indulgence* suspending all laws against Catholics and Dissenters alike. He also expelled the fellows of the Magdalen College, for not appointing his nominee, a Catholic, to the Presidentship. Seven of the bishops who refused to read the 'Declaration of Indulgence' from the pulpits as ordered, were tried but acquitted. All these high-handed actions of the king were tolerated, for people

expected Protestant succession on James's death, in the person of Mary, his daughter. But when a son was born to James in 1688, the (b) Birth consternation of the nation increased and some of a son patriotic Whig and Tory nobles invited Prince to James. William of Orange and his wife Mary to come to defend the liberties of England.

The Glorious Revolution, 1688 :

When William landed in England, James, Flight of finding no supporter, fled to France leaving the James and throne vacant. The Convention Parliament William and Mary as joint-sovereigns and Mary. declared William and Mary as joint-sovereigns and Mary. of England. The bloodless revolution so silently effected, and hence called '*Glorious Revolution*,' established the supremacy of the Parliament by setting up a king and queen who owed their position to the Parliamentary vote. The Parliament further secured its supremacy over the Crown by passing a *Bill of Rights* in 1689 which declared illegal, without its sanction, the royal The Bill exercise of Suspending and Dispensing power, of Rights, 1689. the levying of money by pretence of prerogative and the maintenance of a standing army by the king. The *Toleration Act* was also passed The giving the Dissenters right of public worship. Toleration Act. The Glorious Revolution with its attendant Bill of Rights and the Toleration Act inaugurated a new era of constitutionalism in the history of England.

CHAPTER II.

The Age of the Cardinals in France.

General Character of the Age :

The Great Cardinals helped to establish autocracy.

The period of French history from 1610 to 1661 may be roughly called the "Age of the Cardinals". Richelieu and Mazarin, who actually governed the country, helped to establish monarchical absolutism in France, and gave her a very lofty position in Europe. "But for them, there would have been no age of Louis XIV." They centralised all the forces of the nation under the Crown, and following their policy Louis XIV established an autocratic government in France.

France from 1610 to 1624 :

Reign of Louis XIII, (1610-43)

Regency of Mary de Medici.

End of the Regency.

When Henry IV died (1610), his son (by his second wife, Mary de Medici), a mere child, came to the throne as Louis XIII. The government of France at once fell under the weak rule of Mary, who had become Regent. Mary departed from her husband's policy ; she deserted the Protestant allies of France and concluded a close alliance with Spain and the Pope, dismissed the great minister Sully, and made Concini, an Italian, her chief adviser. Concini's rule provoked a series of revolts of the nobles under Prince Condé, the king's cousin. The revolts were suppressed, but the nobles continued to harass and weaken the government. So, in 1617, the king, now grown of age, took the government in his own hands, got rid of

Concini, and made Luynes his minister. But the country was soon threatened by a religious war. The Huguenots, alarmed at the establishment of Catholicism in Bearn by royal authority (1620), revolted. The revolt, however, was put down, and the *Treaty of Montpellier* (1629), while confirming the Edict of Nantes, prohibited all political meetings of the Huguenots and left to them only two towns of security, Montauban and La Roch lle.

Administration of Richelieu (1624-42) :

As Luynes died (1621), king Louis XIII appointed Cardinal Richelieu and his minister (1624), and left the government of his kingdom entirely in his hands. Born at Paris in 1585, of an old family of Poitou, Richelieu became the bishop of Lucon, and later on a Cardinal in 1623. From 1624 to 1642 he became the real ruler of France. He had *two aims* in view : firstly, to strengthen the authority of the king by curbing the political power of the nobles and the Huguenots ; secondly, to establish the supremacy of France in Europe by crippling the Austro-Spanish power.

By a series of edicts (1626), duelling was prohibited, the fortresses of aggressive nobles were pulled down, and the worst abuses that had sprung up under the government of grasping courtiers were attacked. The nobles, at once, plotted to give the crown to Gaston of Anjou, the king's brother, by deposing Louis XIII, and to murder Richelieu. The Cardinal's watchful eye detected the plot and the ring-leaders were executed or banished. Having crushed the nobles, Richelieu proposed before an assembly of notables some administrative and fiscal

Huguenot revolts.

The aims of Richelieu.

He curbed the authority of the nobles.

His domestic reforms deferred.

reforms. But constant wars and successive difficulties compelled him to leave most of his schemes to be carried out by his successors.

He broke
the political
power of the
Huguenots.

Siege and
capture of
Lá Rochelle.

Richelieu
proceeded to
curb the
Austro-
Spanish
power :

Attempt to
overthrow
Richelieu
failed.

As a result of the Edict of Nantes, the Huguenots virtually formed a 'state within the state' and were giving much trouble to the government. A second revolt of the Huguenots under Soubise and Rohan took place (1625), which was however suppressed. But the Cardinal was determined soon to give a death-blow to the political power of the Huguenots. Irritated at the establishment of Fort Louis as a check upon their stronghold of Lá Rochélie, the Huguenots sought to found in France a defensive political organisation against their sovereign and entered into an alliance with England. An English fleet and army even came across the Channel to aid the Huguenot enterprises. Richelieu at once resolved to get possession of the stronghold of Lá Rochélie and besieged the town (1627). Though it offered a heroic resistance, Richelieu starved it into submission (1628). By the *Treaty of Alais* (1629), the Huguenots had to surrender their fortified towns and political independence, though they retained their religious liberty.

Richelieu had only subsidized Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to make war upon the Emperor to curb his power and save Protestantism in Germany (1630) (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII., Swedish period*). But before he could take active part in the Thirty Years' War, he had to face the intrigues of Gaston, the heir-apparent, and of Mary, the Queen-mother, both of whom feared the Cardinal's power. Gaston and Mary successfully induced the king to dismiss the Cardinal and to make Marillac minister.

Richelieu, however, soon regained his former control over the king. Marillac was arrested on a certain day, "the *Day of Dupes*" (1630) as it was called by the Parisians—and was executed. The birth of a son to Louis XIII (1632), soon robbed Gaston's political importance as heir-apparent, and completed Richelieu's triumph over his domestic enemies. Now peace at home and death of Gustavus at Lutzen (1632) led the Cardinal to openly join Sweden in the war (1635). He organised an immense army to bring the war to a speedy close, and the last battles of the war were chiefly won by Frenchmen. Though Richelieu died before the close of the war, France reaped the benefits of the Peace of Westphalia under Cardinal Mazarin, the worthy successor of Richelieu. A few months before his death (1642), Richelieu had to defend himself against a court intrigue headed by Cinq-Mars, a favourite of the king, who sought to supplant the great minister. Cinq-Mars perished on the scaffold and the court-party ceased to exist.

The
'Day of
Dupes'.

Richelieu
and the
Thirty
Years' War.

Revolt of
Cinq. Mars.

An Estimate of Richelieu :

He was Catholic at home and Protestant abroad. His alliance with Sweden saved Protestantism in northern Europe. He suppressed the Huguenots in France but espoused the cause of the German Protestants. He did the former to establish national unity in France, and did the latter to curb the Austro-Spanish power. Both the Emperor and Spain were humiliated, and France was lifted to the first place in Europe among the powers of Europe. He thus did for France what Chatham did later for England.

Success of
his foreign
policy.

He crushed provincial liberties by appoint-

Character
of his
domestic
adminis-
tration.

ing the *Intendants* or royal governors, and made judicial institutions subservient to the monarchy. He suppressed the nobles and the Huguenots—the obstacles in the way of centralising the monarchy, and of making France united and strong at home. Thus France became strong and united under an absolute monarchy. Again Richelieu was never indifferent to the interests of the people. He attempted some reforms beneficial to the people, but foreign wars and domestic troubles tied up his hands. He had founded the French 'Academy' which regulated literary style and thought in France, as also the 'Gazette' which became the organ of public opinion there.

His services
to literature.

His
character.

He was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable statesmen of France in the 17th century. Endowed with talents, wonderful perseverance, and courage, he invariably selected the rising cause in every country and used it for his own advantage. But he was unscrupulous, implacable, ruthlessly barbarous, and never liked to give any initiative to the people. He "trampled all opposition under foot", and tried to "cover all errors with his scarlet robe."

Administration of Mazarin, (1643-61) :

Policy of
Mazarin.

An Italian by birth and educated by the Jesuits, Mazarin became minister to Louis XIII in 1642 when Richelieu died. He carried out faithfully the domestic as well as the foreign policy of Richelieu, though he relaxed the severity of his system. France was encouraged to maintain her part gloriously in the Thirty Years' War, (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. VII.—French-Swedish period*); but before Mazarin could accomplish the tasks left to him by Richelieu, he

had to face a civil war at home and to make war upon Spain, which, though humbled to recognise the independence of the Dutch, had refused to bow to France at the Peace of Westphalia (1648). ^{His difficulties.}

Accession of Louis XIV, and the Regency of Anne of Austria :

Louis XIII died (1643), and was succeeded by Louis XIV, a child. The *Parlément* of Paris made Anne of Austria, the Queen-mother, absolute regent to the king. Anne, who was in love with Mazarin and married him secretly, retained Mazarin as the chief minister, thereby disappointing the young courtiers called the "Importants" who hoped to rule the country. The "Importants" conspired against Mazarin, but they were put down. A vigorous attempt was now made by various parties to undo the work of Richelieu in 1648 ; The *Parlément* of Paris, the aristocrats, and the Parisian mob, combined to destroy the newly established monarchical despotism. This resulted in the outbreak of the *Fronde* (1648-53). ^{The new king, and the Regency.} ^{Mazarin's ministry continued.} ^{The Importants, and their movements.}

(1) *The Parlément of Paris*—This institution was created by Philip Augustus as a court of peers for judicial purposes in the 12th century. St. Louis introduced lawyers into it and it became purely an assembly of lawyers in the 13th century. A seat in the *Parlément* was obtainable only by purchase. Henry IV made the seats hereditary, subject to the payment of the *Paulette*, an annual tax. The duty of the *Parlément* was to register royal edicts, but it had the privilege to refuse such registrations. This opposition of the *Parlément* could only be overcome by "*Bed of Justice*," when the registra- ^{The Parlement of Paris and its attempts to control the administration.}

tion of an edict was ordered by the king's own authority. The assembly, which had scarcely any power to interfere with the administration, now tried to control the government of Anne, the regent of their own creation.

The Aristocrats took up the cause of the people.

(2) *The Aristocrats*.—Irritated by the measures of Richelieu to break their political power, and finding his successor Mazarin rising to prominence, the nobles opposed the crown. They were selfish in their aims ; to regain their lost power they professed to support popular liberties. Their leader was the famous general, the Prince of Condé.

The Parisian mob and its democratic ideas.

(3) *The Parisian mob*.—Democratic ideas were rife amongst them, but they were quite unfit for self-government. Their leader was Cardinal de Retz.

The War of the Fronde, (1648-53) :

Its Origin :

(1) Opposition by the Parlement of Paris to the imposition of new taxes :

(2) The demands of the Parlement partially conceded :
(3) The arrest of Broussel a member of the Parlement.

The struggle against the monarchy opened with a quarrel between Mazarin and the Parlement of Paris upon taxation. While the Parlement refused to register new taxes proposed by Mazarin to carry on the war with Spain, they were registered in a "*Bed of Justice*" and the *Paulette* was discontinued as a retaliation upon the members. Furious at the conduct of the government, the members demanded, the dismissal of the *Intendants*, the reduction of the *Taille* by a quarter, the imposition of new taxes with the assent of the supreme courts of the realm, and the abolition of the system of arbitrary imprisonment. A partial concession of these demands did not end the quarrel. Finally, the arrest of Broussel, a popular favourite and a member of the Parlement of Paris, kindled the

civil war (1648)—the *Fronde*, so called from contemptuous comparison of the rebels to the Parisian gamins who used to fight with slings.

The First Period of the War :

1648-49 :

At first, the *Parlément* with the Parisian mob fought against Mazarin and the court of Anne. This was an attempt to put constitutional checks upon the monarchy. Soon the nobles joined the *Parlément* and the mob, professing to support popular liberties, but with a real motive to recover their lost power. So, when led by their selfish motive, the nobles intrigued with Spain, the *Parlément* and the mob made peace with the court at *Rueil* (1649).

Parties in the war—attitude of the nobles.

Peace of Rueil, 1649.

The Second Period of the War :

1649-53.

The nobles, who refused to go by the peace of *Rueil*, soon organised an aristocratic *Fronde*, indifferent to popular interests, to oppose the Crown. *Conde*, the leader of the organisation, was suddenly arrested by Mazarin's order (1650). So the nobles entered into negotiations with Spain and won over *Turenne*, the great French general. With the help of Spanish troops, *Turenne* invaded *Champagne* but was utterly defeated at *Rethel*. *Turenne's* defeat at once secured Mazarin's ministerial absolutism. Members of the old *Fronde*, who feared Mazarin's power joined the nobles, demanding *Conde's* release and Mazarin's exile. Mazarin released *Conde* and retired to *Brühl* in *Cologne*. But *Conde* soon alienated the members of the old *Fronde* by his selfish motives ; and Anne, advised by Mazarin from his exile, at once won them over and formed a strong royal party, declaring the king of age. *Conde* now rebelled

Sudden arrest of *Conde*, the leader of the opposition.

Junction of the old and new *Frondes*.

Conde's
triumphs.

against the king, joining Spain and threatening Paris with Spanish troops. Turenne, who was won over by the royal party, opposed but could not, for some time, make any head against him. But as the royal party gradually became most powerful and as public opinion became too strong against Conde, Conde lost all hopes and sought refuge with his Spanish allies. Mazarin returned to Paris in triumph (1653). Thus the Fronde was at an end ; with it, *the last difficulty in the way of a centralised despotism was removed.*

Public
opinion
turned
against
Conde, and
the Fronde
collapsed.

Results of the Fronde :

The nobles lost their political power for ever ; the people had to submit to an absolute monarchy ; the Parlément of Paris lost all influence for a century and a half ; but France became united and strong at home.

The Spanish War (1653-59) :

Invasion of
France by
Condé on
behalf of
Spain, 1653.

Even after the Peace of Westphalia which simply concluded the war in Germany, France continued her struggle with Spain being unwilling to conclude a peace with the Spanish House of the Hapsburgs without adequate reward. In 1653 Conde, the French general who had turned his arms against his own country, with Spanish troops invaded France and threatened her capital. But Mazarin, free from domestic troubles vigorously conducted the war, entering into alliance with Cromwell. Turenne, with his military tactics, forced Conde to retreat, and afterwards, assisted by 6000 Ironsides of Cromwell, conquered *Dunkirk* and the fortresses of *Flanders*. The former was ceded to the English, the latter were retained by the French. In 1657,

France
gained
the alliance
of Cromwell.

the new Emperor Leopold I promised to send no help to Spain, thus completely isolating her from the Austrian Hapsburgs. In 1659, the war was closed by the *Treaty of Pyrenees*, by which (1) France gained Artois and a number of fortresses in Flanders. Hainault, and Luxembourg, (2) Spain resigned all claims to Alsace, (3) the Pyrenees became the natural boundary between the two kingdoms, (4) Conde was restored to his private property and official dignity, (5) Louis XIV married Maria Theresa, the Infanta of Spain, who had to renounce her claims to the Spanish succession on condition of receiving a dowry.

Treaty of
Pyrenees,
1659,—
its terms.

An Estimate of Mazarin :

From the first to the last Mazarin was a first class diplomat. He married his neices to the highest nobles and became all powerful. Even the king regarded him more as a master than as a minister. He completed the unity and consolidation of France by surpressing the Fronde, by signing the treaties of Westphalia and of Pyrenees which greatly humbled the Austro-Spanish power. He was avaricious and double-dealing, and maintained his influence over the queen and built an enormous fortune by unworthy means. But he encouraged Literature and Science, by founding the "Academy of Painting and Sculpture", and the "College of Four nations." Mazarin died (1661) and Louis XIV took the reins of the government into his own hands.

Mazarin and
his work.

Character of
Mazarin.

CHAPTER III.

The Age of Louis XIV.

Character of Louis XIV :

Louis, a
typical
Divine-Right
king of
his age.

When Mazarin died with the glory of the Peace of Pyrenees still shining about him (1661), Louis XIV, then only of twenty-three, took the government into his own hands. The period of Louis's personal rule (1661-1715) is generally known as the 'Age of Louis XIV'. His conception of government was thus expounded by himself—*L'Etat c'est moi*, "I am the State." Thus resolved to make himself absolute master in his own kingdom, he was equally determined to secure for France the supremacy in Europe and to establish a great French colonial empire rivaling that built up by Spain. He was serious, severe, obstinate, and intensely ambitious, but a master of details and routine work, and also a first class diplomat. Richelieu and Mazarin made him a despot and he meant to remain one. He was determined not to have any dominant minister and transacted the business of the government himself. But, though Louis was the typical Divine-Right king of his age, he somehow made his autocratic government attractive.

Reforms of Jean Colbert :

1619-83 :

Though Richelieu and Mazarin, paved the way for a centralised monarchy in France, her financial condition and judicial and administrative machinery could not be improved,

owing to anarchy at home and foreign wars. Under these circumstances, Louis naturally turned to the improvement of finance and the government machinery. He got Colbert, the finance-minister, as his able lieutenant to carry out his projects.

To organise the finances first, Colbert, by his stern dealings with the farmers of taxes, by fixing the interest of public loans at a minimum rate of 5 per cent., by sweeping away a number of useless offices, by reviving the provincial *Intendants* to superintend the financial administrations, by reducing the *Taille* and imposing duties on articles of general consumption, succeeded in reducing the pressure of taxation and at the same time in increasing the revenue immensely. To increase the national wealth, native manufactures were encouraged, foreign manufacturers were invited to settle in France, and protective duties were imposed on imports while exports were encouraged by a system of bounties. To encourage commerce, internal free trade was established, roads were repaired, canals were dug, the Navy was revived, free ports were founded and companies were formed to trade with the East and West Indies, Africa, America, and India. But Colbert neglected agriculture which was the real source of France's wealth. To improve the government machinery, the judicial administration was centralised; civil, criminal and commercial laws were enacted and issued; a regular police-system was instituted; and the Army was reorganised. Besides, the government began to patronise Literature and Art by pensioning learned men, by founding the 'Academy of Sciences' (1664) and the 'Academy of Music' (1669).

Financial measures :

(a) reducing pressure of taxation ;

(b) as increasing national wealth.

Administrative measures :

Other measures.

Effects of
the reforms.

Thus every department felt the influence of the central government, and the result was a forced and hasty development which did not last long owing to its weak hold on individual energy and independence.

The Wars of Louis XIV :

Four great
wars in the
reign and
their net
results.

Had France pursued a consistent policy of peace at home and over-sea expansion through commerce and colonisation, she might have been a great world-power like England. But Louis's military ambition made it impossible. He dreamt of founding a great French empire in Europe by conquests. In 1667, he actually entered upon a career of aggression and conquest, which, though successful at first, ended in disgrace. Four great wars—(1) the War of Devolution (1667-68), (2) the Dutch War (1672-78), (3) the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97), and (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14)—drained the royal treasury, destroyed commerce and worked out national bankruptcy making Colbert's reforms dreams.

Triumph of France :

(I) The War of Devolution, (1667-68):

Origin of
the war.

On the death of Philip IV of Spain (1665), Louis XIV, who was determined to extend the French frontier to the Scheldt, claimed the greater part of Flanders by right of his Spanish wife, Maria Theresa, as against Charles II, son of Philip by his second wife. This claim of Louis, being based upon the '*Law of Devolution*,'—an old feudal rule of succession applicable in the province of Brabant in the Spanish Netherlands, according to which children by

the first marriage were to inherit—was rejected by Spain. So Louis's generals Turenne and Condé conquered *Flanders* (1667) and *Franché-Comte* (1668) respectively. Alarmed at French successes, England, Holland, and Sweden formed a *Triple Alliance* to support Spain and to keep up the balance of power in Europe. This led Louis to make the *Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle* (1668) by which he retained the conquests in the Netherlands but gave up *Franché-Comte*. Formation of the Triple Alliance led Louis to conclude a treaty.

(2) The Dutch War (1672-78) :

Its origin :

Louis hated the Dutch, because (1) the French Huguenots found in them their chief allies and the French exiles found a safe refuge in Holland whence they attacked the established government and religion of France ; (2) the Dutch, a nation of merchants, dared to interfere with the affairs of princes and specially with his designs on Spanish succession ; (3) their republican government had been established by excluding the House of Orange from power ; and (4) the chief author of the Triple Alliance was the celebrated Dutch statesman, John De Witt. Reasons for Louis's hatred against the Dutch.

By the *Secret Treaty of Dover* in 1670 (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. I.*) Louis detached England from the Triple Alliance and then he purchased the alliance of Sweden by bribing the Swedish Council of Regency ruling for the minor Charles XI (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. V.*). Holland being thus isolated, Louis began an unjust and unprovoked war in 1672 being guided by his minister Luvois, brutal and harsh in his domestic policy and an ardent advocate of aggressions abroad. Preparations of Louis.

Its Incidents :

Early
French
successes.

Holland
secured
allies.

England
gave up
French
alliance.

Later
French
victories.

Conclusion
of peace,
1678.

On sea the Dutch fought on equal terms with the combined fleets of England and France, but on land the French were irresistible. Before French troops, however, could take the city of Amsterdam, the heart of the Netherlands, the Dutch, at the order of William of Orange the Stadtholder, flooded the country by cutting open the dykes. The French had to retreat, but Europe was now thoroughly aroused. Emperor Leopold I, the Electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, Lorraine, the Palatinate, Spain, and Denmark, joined Holland (1673). William and Montecuculi, the Imperial general, drove the French from the Rhine, who had went to oppose the Germans. In 1674 however, Charles II of England, forced by public opinion, gave up French alliance and made peace with the Dutch. Louis had now no other ally but remote Sweden. So he desired peace, but William of Orange and the Emperor listened to no terms ; and Louis now determined to force on a peace by an energetic prosecution of the war. Franché-Comte was reconquered from Spain (1674). Turenne crushed the Imperialists at *Sinzheim* and devastated the Palatinate. Next, defeating the Germans at the battles of *Enzheim*, *Belfort*, and *Turkheim*, he marched into the Black Forest where he was killed (1675). In 1676 France gained three great naval victories over the combined fleets of Holland and Spain. In 1677 the French captured *Freiburg* from the Imperialists. In 1678 William of Orange married Mary, the daughter of the Duke of York, and England threatened war against France ; but

both parties, being exhausted, concluded the *Peace of Nymegen* (1678).

The Peace of Nymegen, 1678 :

France was the only gainer in the war while Spain had to make the greatest sacrifices. Terms of the peace.
France obtained Franché-Comte, and all the frontier towns of the Spanish Netherlands from Spain. Holland lost nothing but obtained commercial privileges from France. The Emperor lost or gained nothing, only Freiburg being exchanged for Philipsburg.

Humiliation of France :

Ambitious Projects of Louis :

After the Peace of Nymegen, the French king was at the height of his power and glory. During the next ten years (1678-88) he carried out his autocratic ideas about government—that the king should be all-powerful at home and the kingdom omnipotent abroad. He set up three courts called '*Chambers de Reunion*' to acquire territories and towns in time of profound peace, by the application of old feudal rules of succession and by clever interpretations of the vague wordings of the Treaties of Westphalia and Pyrenees. These courts claimed the powers of an international tribunal, and in them Louis himself was both judge and executor of his own judgment. The acquisitions of Alsace, the free cities of Strasburg, the fortress of Casale &c., pushed the frontiers of France into Germany. Without any right whatever Luxemburg was snatched away from Spain (1684). These were the high-handed actions of the '*Chambers of Reunion*'. Again

The
Chambers
de Reunion
and Louis'
aggressive
policy.

in 1685, Louis pushed his ambitious designs in Germany further than what was prudent. He alarmed the Rhine princes by claiming the Lower Palatinate on behalf of his brother's wife, Elizabeth Charlotte, the Princess Palatine.

Rise of the Jansenists :

The Jesuits who had gained a preponderant influence in France had greatly fallen off from the principles of their founder and had become greedy of power and riches. Their casuistry based upon the doctrine of free-will was opposed by Jansen in his counter-theory of predestination (1635). The followers of Jansen were the most fervent pietists of the age and included great scholars like Pascal, Arnauld, Racine, &c. They were as if the 'Puritans of Catholicism' and hence were alike odious to the Jesuits and to the king who were under their influence. Richelieu and Mazarin persecuted them, and Louis too hated them as being remnants of the old Fronde, and as they held that the church was independent of the state. But they were saved from destruction owing to a quarrel between Louis and Pope Innocent XI over the question of extending the *regale* i.e. the king's right to nominate to the bishoprics and to enjoy their income during the vacancy. The national Synod of 1682 supported Louis and the domination of the Papacy in France vanished.

The
Jansenists
hated by
the Jesuits
and by
the king.

Quarrel
between
Louis and
the Papacy
saved them
from being
crushed.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes :

The Huguenots were living peacefully since the issue of the gracious Edict of Nantes and were pursuing a successful industrial career. The intolerant zeal of Louis XIV led him to

formulate a scheme in 1673 to reunite the Huguenots with the church ; but its rejection by their synod hurt the vanity of the king who began to resort to every possible form of persecution without violating the letter of the Edict of Nantes. Led by his evil genius Louvois, since 1683 he began to harass them by quartering regiments of dragoons upon their families till they abjured their faith. At last, stimulated by the counsel of the Jesuits and a Catholic lady, Madame de Maintenon, (afterwards Louis's wife) Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, prohibited the teaching and preaching of Protestantism in France, and began to persecute the Huguenots. Four Hundred Thousand Huguenots fled to England, Holland, Prussia, and America, carrying with them their arts, industry and civilization, and thus the revocation proved fatal to the best interests of France.

Guided by Louvois, Louis began a systematic persecution of the Huguenots, and at last revoked the Edict of Nantes, 1685.

(3) The War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97) :

The high-handed actions of the 'Chambers of Reunion', Louis's designs on the Palatinate, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, alarmed all Catholic and Protestant states of Europe. So in 1686, the Emperor, Spain, Sweden, Saxony, Bavaria, Savoy and the Pope formed, at the instigation of William of Orange, the 'League of Augsburg' to check Louis's aggression. In 1688 Louis declared war against his enemies ; but before the war had well begun William of Orange, who became king of England as a result of the "Glorious Revolution", won England for the League (1689). Louis found himself alone against enormous

Louis's aggressive policy alienated the European powers who formed the League of Augsburg, 1686.

Louis
finding no
ally signed
the Treaty
of Ryswick.

odds, and the war became general since 1689. He, however, proved to be more than a match for the formidable circle of his enemies on sea as well as on land till his resources were exhausted. The fighting was mainly in the Netherlands. In 1690, the French General, Luxemburg, gained a victory at *Fleurus*, and his colleague, Catinat, won another at *Staffarda*. In course of the next two years the French captured the strong fortresses of *Mons* and *Namur* and defeated William at *Steinkirk*, but the English Admiral, Russell, signally defeated and destroyed the French Navy under Tourville off *La Hogue* in Normandy. In 1695 William managed to recapture *Namur* and the war dragged on for two years more till both sides, being exhausted, became anxious for peace. In 1697, the *Treaty of Ryswick* was signed. Louis restored all places, given by the "Chambers of Reunion" or seized outside Alsace and Franche-Comté since the Peace of Nymegen. He also gave up his claims to the Lower Palatinate, and acknowledged William of Orange as king of England. France retained only Alsace with Strasburg and Franche-Comte, and the Dutch were allowed to garrison many frontier towns in Spanish Netherlands as a barrier against French invasion. The treaty proved to be a "serious blow, not merely to the pride of Louis XIV, but to his power."

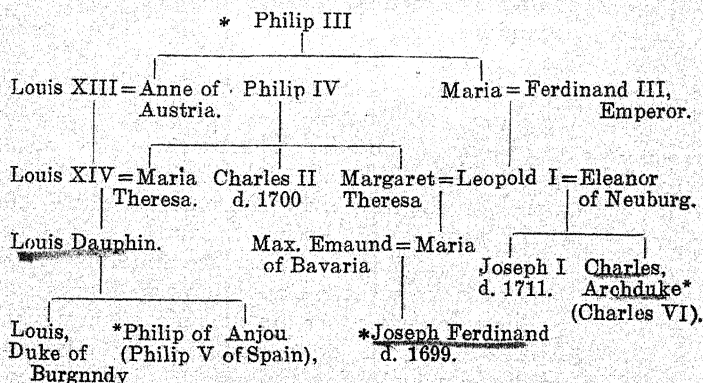
(4) The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14) :

The Succession Question in Spain :

Charles II of Spain was weak and frail, with no sons and no chance of having a son. So the

succession to the Spanish dominions, which comprised Castile, Aragon, Navarre, the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, Sicily and the New world, became a question of European interest even before the death of Charles*. The eldest daughters both of Philip III and of Philip IV had been married into the House of Bourbon (Anne to Louis XIII, and Maria Theresa to Louis XIV), both renouncing all claims to the Spanish succession on condition of receiving a dowry. Louis XIV now claimed the Spanish throne on the behalf of the descendants of himself and Maria Theresa on the ground that Maria Theresa's marriage-dowry had not been paid and neither the Cortés nor the Parlement of Paris had ratified the renunciation clause. Again the younger daughters of the Spanish House had been married into the Austrian House (Philip III's daughter to Ferdinand III, and Philip IV's to Leopold I), neither of them making any renunciation. Thus, the French claims being excluded by the renunciations, Maria, the issue of Margaret Theresa and Leopold I, had a

The claimants to the—Spanish throne and the European interest involved in it.



stronger claim to the Spanish throne than the French. So she claimed it for her son, Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria. But Leopold I compelled his daughter Maria to renounce her claims and claimed the Spanish throne himself (as the grandson of Philip III and husband of Philip IV's daughter, Margaret) or for Archduke Charles.

The Two Partition-treaties :

The first partition-treaty and the first royal will, 1698.

William of Orange, King of England and Stadtholder of Holland, with a view to keep up the balance of power in Europe, made the first partition treaty with Louis XIV (1698), on the principle that neither a Bourbon nor a Hapsburgh should obtain the entire dominions of Spain. By the treaty, Joseph Ferdinand of Bavaria was to have Spain, the Netherlands and the New World, while Archduke Charles and the Dauphin should divide amongst themselves the remaining possessions. In the same year, Charles II, who disliked any sort of partition of the Spanish dominions, made a will, acknowledging the Bavarian prince as heir to all his dominions. But as the prince died (1699), both the partition-treaty and the will became nullified.

The second partition-treaty and the second royal will; 1700.

A Second partition-treaty, much more advantageous to Austria, was agreed upon (1799) by which Archduke Charles was to have Spain, the Netherlands, Sardinia and the New World, while the Dauphin was to have the Italian possessions, except Sardinia. Soon objections were raised against the inheritance of the Archduke and the Dauphin, and also against the dismemberment of the Spanish empire. So Charles II, on his death-bed, made new will (1700), acknowledging Philip of Anjou, second

grandson of Louis XIV, as heir to the Spanish territories, on condition that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united.

The Immediate Cause of the War :

Louis, at the astonishment of all Europe, at once accepted the will of Charles II, proclaimed Duke of Anjou as Philip V of Spain, filled the frontier fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands with French garrisons, acknowledged the son of James Stuart II as king of England disobeying the Treaty of Ryswick, disregarded the claims of Archduke Charles, and took measures to extend French and Spanish commerce at the expense of England and Holland. Hostilities had hardly commenced, when Holland, England, and the Emperor signed a *Grand Alliance* against the union of France and Spain. The war lasted from 1701-13. England, Holland, Austria, the Elector Palatine, Elector Brandenburg, Elector Hanover allied against France, Bavaria, Cologne, Savoy, Spain, joined France ; Portugal joined in 1703.

Louis rejected the partition treaty.

The Grand Alliance against Louis.

Parties in the war.

The Incidents of the War :

In 1704, the first great battle occurred at *Blenheim*, near the Upper Danube and the English general, Marlborough, with Prince Eugene of Savoy saved Vienna from a well-planned attack of the French. In 1706 Marlborough beat the French at *Ramillies* in the Netherlands and Eugene defeated them at *Turin* and drove out of Italy. These signal successes were followed by the battle of *Oudenarde* where the allies by their victory expelled the French from the Netherlands and Marlborough captured *Lille*. At

Successes of Marlborough and of Eugene.

The Spanish
victories.

Recall of
Marlborough
and
England's
withdrawal
from the
war.

The death
of Emperor
Joseph I
the peace,
1713.

Terms of
the peace.

Malplaquet (1709) the final effort of France under Marshal Villars was foiled by Marlborough. In Spain the Spanish armies however defeated the allies at *Brihuega* and *Villa Viciosa* and Philip was firmly seated on the throne of Spain. In 1711 Marlborough was recalled by the English government which, being a Tory one and hence averse to war, insisted on peace and England withdrew from the war (1712). In 1711 Archduke Charles, as Charles VI, became Emperor on the death of Joseph, and the theory of balance of power being threatened again, the allies declined to support his claim to the Spanish throne. So the war was ended by the *Peace of Utrecht* (1713) by which,—

(1) Philip V of Spain was recognised as king of Spain and her colonies on condition of his renouncing his claim to his grandfather's throne ; (2) France retained her own territory practically undiminished ; (3) in addition to Gibraltar, Port Mahon, Arcadia and Newfoundland, England obtained the right of trading in Spanish America ; (4) Holland secured a favourable tariff and the right to garrison a line of fortresses from Ghent to Namur as a protection against French attack ; (5) Elector of Brandenburg was recognised as King of Prussia ; (6) Duke of Savoy received Sicily, with the title of King ; (7) the Emperor received Milan and Naples together with the Spanish Netherlands : this was confirmed at the *Treaty of Rastadt* between Austria and France (1714). The attempt of France to establish a dictatorship over Europe thus failed, and with the destruction of the commercial monopoly of Spain in the West Indies, England became destined to be the greatest free-trading empire in the world.

Last years of Louis :

In his old age, Louis was entirely under the influence of the Jesuits who supported his despotism. The disastrous wars in his reign and the reckless financial administration transformed the Jansenists into a sort of opposition to the government. Port Royal, the original home of Jansenism, was destroyed and aged nuns were forcibly dispersed or imprisoned. The Huguenots were completely crushed by the reduction of the Cevennes. Any one incurring royal displeasure was arbitrarily imprisoned by *Lettres de Cachet*. The heavy burden of taxation roused loud clamours from his subjects and death began to hover over the palace. The Dauphin and also the two grandsons of Louis died, leaving as the nearest heir to the throne his great-grandson, a mere child. On the morning of Sept. 1, 1711 Louis breathed his last.

Repressions
of the
Jansenists
and the
Huguenots :

Imprison-
ment by
*Lettres de
Cachet* :

Bereave-
ments in
the royal
family.

Character of the reign of Louis XIV :

He completed the centralisation of the monarchy following the lines laid down by Richelieu and Mazarin. All institutions which could check or control the central authority were put down; the States-general sank into oblivion, and the Parlement was forced to submission. The repression of the Huguenots and the Jansenists effected a religious unity in the country. The nobles, though excluded from their political influence, were allowed more social privileges. The members of the middle class were elevated to official power. The reckless expenditure to meet the expenses of the aggressive wars, to maintain the magnificence of the courts, and to furnish means for the erection

Centrali-
sation
of the
Monarchy :

Religious
unity :

Ascendancy
of the
middle
class :

Ruin of commercial greatness :	of numerous costly palaces (e.g. 'the Versailles') and public buildings destroyed the commercial prosperity of the country, and a perceptible decay in the greatness of France began. Louis's foreign policy was marvellously successful in as
Successful foreign policy :	much as it led to the acquisition of an impregnable frontier ; but he made a great mistake in alienating the Protestant allies and then recommencing his old quarrel with his Catholic neighbours. The dreams of a French empire beyond the seas, led Louis to watch with paternal solicitude the growth of the French trans-Atlantic settlements: the French East India Company was organised in 1664, and colonies were established in India at Surat (1667) and at Pondicherry (1672). Though not himself
Over-sea expansion of French dominions :	a scholar, Louis liberally encouraged men of letters, and the reign which witnessed the authors like Corneille, Racine, Molière. Descartes, Pascal, Bossuet, Fenelon, La Bruyère, Sevigné could not but be the <i>Augustan Age of French literature</i> . For these reasons Louis was considered by his contemporaries as the ' <i>Grand Monarque</i> ' of Europe. But it is sure that he did the most towards the destruction of the <i>ancient régime</i> in France, and the vast mass of misery and suffering created by his many wars and his extravagant expenditures helped much to prepare the minds of the Frenchmen for the great Revolution of 1789.
Encouragement of Literature—the 'Augustan Age of French Literature.'	

CHAPTER IV.

The Ottoman Empire in the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Rule of the Grand Viziers :

The Turkish power was revived for some time under the Kiuprili Viziers. During the minority of Sultan Mahomed IV, Mahomed Kiuprili, an old man of 70, became appointed as Grand-Vizier (1656). His domestic reforms removed the abuses in the state ; disorders were put down severely and discipline was restored among the *Janissaries*. He prosecuted the war with Venice in Crete vigorously, and in order to curb the growing insubordination of the vassal ruler of Transylvania (in Hungary) he had to fight a battle there ; but before these campaigns really closed, the able Vizier died (1661).

Emperor Leopold I did not like Turkish intervention in Transylvania, fearing a revolt of his own discontented subjects in Austrian Hungary at the instance of the Turks, and with the aid of troops sent by Louis XIV continued the war. Achmet Kiuprili, the son and successor of Mahomed, was defeated by the famous Austrian general Montecuculi at *St. Gothard* (1664). The *Treaty of Vasvár* which followed the war secured the independence of Transylvania though its prince continued to pay tribute to Turkey. Achmet next closed the war with Venice in Crete by capture of *Candia* which surrendered (1669). He undertook a campaign

Mahomed
Kiuprili.

War with
Venice.

Achmet
Kiuprili.

War with
Austria.

War with
Poland.

Kara
Mustafa.

Importance
of the
second
siege of
Vienna.

Renewed
war with
Austria.

in Poland on behalf of the Cossacks of the Ukraine and compelled the Polish king to cede Podolia and Ukraine and to pay annual tribute (1672). Refusing to accept the arrangement, the Poles under their able general John Sobieski (afterwards their king) defeated the Turks at *Lemberg* (1675), and at the *Treaty of Zurawna* the Turks obtained greater part of Podolia with Kameneitz and one-third of Ukraine (1676). Now Achmet died, and his successor Kara Mustafa laid siege to Vienna for the second time to overthrow the Austrian Empire (1683). *This siege is a memorable incident in the history of Europe.* If Vienna fell, the Turks would probably have extended their frontiers to the Rhine and thereby threatened European civilisation ; or Louis XIV, after the collapse of Austria, posing himself as the champion of Christendom would have fought against the Turks and defeating them realised his dream of founding a Bourbon monarchy over Europe. However, in the absence of any help from the leading European Powers, the Emperor begged assistance from Sobieski, now king of Poland, who defeated the Turks near *Vienna*. Shortly after, Kara Mustafa was murdered for his defeat by the order of Sultan Mahomed IV.

Austria, Venice, and Russia at war with Turkey :

Alliance of
Austria
with Venice
and the
suppression
of the
Austro-
Hungarian
revolt.

The Austrians now entered into a *Holy League* with Venice by Papal mediation and under Morosini reduced large part of Morea (1685). At the same time Austria crushed a revolt in Austrian Hungary led by Tokoli, a Hungarian patriot who was being backed by Turkey, and the Turks lost *Ofen*, the capital of Turkish

Hungary. The New Vizier, Suleiman Pacha attempted to recover the town, but was defeated at *Mohacz*, and Croatia and Slavonia were subdued (1687). Next year Transylvania was annexed by the Emperor and it, renouncing the Turkish suzerainty, became a province of the King of Hungary; *Belgrade*, the bulwark of the Turks in Hungary, was next captured by the Austrians and the Turks were thus expelled from Hungary. The Venetians had also overrun Serbia and Bulgaria. Russia also attacked the Eastern frontier of Turkey. The Turks were, as if, going to be expelled from the soil of Europe.

Austrian successes against the Turks.

Having lost their patience by constant defeats, the *Janissaries* deposed Sultan Mahomed IV in 1687, and his brother, the new Sultan, Solyman II appointed *Mustafa Kiuprili* as Vizier. Mustafa enforced discipline in the army and reorganised it, reformed the finances, conciliated the Christian subjects by the policy of toleration and recovered Serbia, Bulgaria and *Belgrade* (1690). He maintained *Tokoli* as the prince of Transylvania. But the Turks were again defeated by the Austrians at *Szalankemen* and Mustafa was killed (1691). Sultan Mustafa II, who succeeded Achmet II in 1695, led an army in person and, though successful at first, received a crushing defeat by Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Imperial general, at *Zenta* (1697). The Russians under Peter the Great had captured *Azov* from the Turks in 1696 (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. V.*), and the Venetians reducing *Morea*, were advancing beyond the isthmus of Corinth. The attention of the Emperor and other European Powers being directed to the question of Spanish succession, through the

Temporary revival of the Turkish power under Mustafa Kiuprili.

Victory of Eugene of Savoy.

Treaty of
Carlowitz,
1699.

intervention of England and Holland, a treaty was concluded at *Carlowitz* (1699) by which (1) Austria obtained nearly whole of Hungary, Transylvania, and greater part of Slavonia and Croatia, (2) Russia kept Azov, (3) Poland recovered the territories in Podolia, lost to Mohammed IV, and (4) Venice restored all conquests north of the isthmus of Corinth but retained Morea. *Henceforth, the Ottoman Empire ceased to be a terror to the Christian Powers of Europe.* Austria demanded the surrender of the Hungarian leader, Tokoli, but the Sultan honourably refused, and gave him some property in Asia Minor where he lived till 1703.

CHAPTER V.

The Rise of Russia and Sweden.

Russia before Peter the Great :

The Russian monarchy had been unified under Rurik dynasty in the 9th century ; but in the 13th century the Tartars or Mongols conquered the country and ruled despotically for two centuries, the descendants of the Ruriks becoming mere tributaries. Under Ivan III the Russians got rid of the Tartar rule (1480). Ivan IV, (1533-84), called 'the Terrible' extended the Russian frontiers to the Caspian by the conquest of Astrakan from the Tartars. He first assumed the title of 'the Czar'. His son and successor Feoder was deposed by his brother-in-law Boris Godunof and the House of Rurik came to an end (1598). For the next fifteen years Russia was in a condition of anarchy and became a bone of contention between Sweden and Poland. At last in 1613, the patriotic party in Russia elected Michael Romanoff, an ancestor of the later Czars and a member of their own party. Under the Romanoffs, Polish and Swedish influence were got rid of, and Siberia was added to the kingdom.

The early history of Russia, and the accession of the House of Romanoff.

Reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) :

His Accession, and his Aims :

The Romanoffs, however, came to particular honour in the person of Peter who ascended the throne at the age of ten (1682). From 1689, he

Condition
of Russia
at the
accession
of Peter.

The three
aims of
Peter's life.

began to reign supreme at Moscow. Russia was still in her original state of barbarism, the only bond of connection with the European culture being in her adoption of Greek form of Christianity; again, in spite of her vast dominions, she was practically an inland state being cooped in on the west and the south by Persia, Turkey, Poland, and Sweden; and the Patriarch, the head of the Church, as well as the 'Streltsi,' the Czar's body-guard, had much influence on the absolute authority of the Czar. Peter, with his statesmanlike instinct, "a man of miracles" as he was, clearly saw the situation and set himself to achieve *three great aims* of his life:—(1) to bring Russia into closer connection with Europe, (2) to open a way to the west by getting hold on the Black and the Baltic seas, and (3) to get rid of the two checks placed upon the authority of the Czar.

His Journey of Instruction :

Peter's first
conquest,
and journey
through
Europe.

To familiarise himself with the western civilization he thought of travelling through Europe. But before he set out on his journey, he secured a port on the Black sea by the conquest of Azov from the Turks (1696), taking advantage of their embarrassing situation in their war with the Emperor. He then spent the year 1697-98 in his travels in course of which he appreciated the practical genius of the Dutch, the military organisation of Austria, the refined manners of France, the clothes of England, and the German system of administration.

Removal of the two checks on his authority :

While at Vienna, Peter heard that the *Streltsi* had revolted and he returned post-haste

to home. The rebellious body-guards were put down with horrible cruelty and a regular army was organised, in their place, on the European model, devoted to the Czar. Thus one check on his authority was removed. Again when the old Patriarch died in 1700, Peter organised a Holy Synod of the Greek Church with himself as the President. Thus the Czar, the head of the state, became the head of the Church.

(1) Streltsi disbanded.

(2) The Church made dependent on the Czar.

His reforms :

Now his hands being free, Peter began his civilizing labours. Many obnoxious customs were removed ; the status of women was greatly improved and they were released from strict seclusion. Education was made compulsory among the nobles and several common schools were erected. He built roads and canals, hospitals and alms-houses, encouraged commerce and industry by inviting hundreds of foreign artisans and foreign engineers to settle in Russia and establishing Boards of Trade and Post Offices, and organised a vigorous system of police. He himself had learnt the art of ship-building and laid the foundation of a Navy. He tolerated all religious sects except the Jesuits, and the Bible was translated in the Slavonic language. He improved the port of Archangel in the North and by the conquest of Azov had gained a port on the Black sea ; now he turned his attention to the Baltic coast which was dominated by Sweden, the first power of the North, and this involved him in a struggle with her.

Domestic reforms in the reign of Peter.

Ascendancy of Sweden in the latter half of the seventeenth century :

Sweden had risen to be the first power of the

Reign of
Charles X
(1654-60):

his war
with Poland.

Frederick
William,
the Great
Elector
secured the
independence of
Prussia.

War
between
Sweden and
Denmark—
the Great
Northern
war 1657:

The Treaty
of Roeskilde,
1658.

North from the time of Gustavus, and through his prominent part in the Thirty Years' War that country secured the Baltic provinces in the reign of his daughter Christina (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. II*). Her successor Charles X, called the '*Pyrrhus of the North*,' determined to complete the Swedish ascendancy on the Baltic. In 1656 he invaded Poland and compelled its king John Casimir to fly to Silesia, and at the *Treaty of Konigsberg* Frederic William Elector of Brandenburg agreed to hold the Duchy of Prussia as a tributary of Sweden and not of Poland as before. His success however was not lasting, and Poland throwing off the Swedish yoke recalled Casimir. But Casimir was once more driven out from Warsaw, the Polish capital, by the Swedish king with the help of the Elector of Brandenburg who in recognition of his services obtained a part of Poland and the entire independence of his Duchy of Prussia thereby laying the foundation of the future kingdom of Prussia (*Vide Bk. II, Ch. VIII*). A formidable coalition of Poland, Russia, Denmark, and the Empire was now formed against the ambitious designs of Sweden, and Frederic Elector of Brandenburg also deserted to Poland on condition of having Prussia free from Polish suzerainty. The Danes in alliance with the Emperor and the Dutch made a naval attack on *Gothenburg*, and the great 'Northern War' broke out (1657). Undismayed, Charles X at once overran the Danish provinces of Holstein, Schleswig, and Jutland, defeated the Danish troops, and taking *Odensee* began to threaten Copenhagen. By the mediation of France and England the *Treaty of Roeskilde* (1658) was concluded, by which Denmark ceded all her possessions in the

Scandinavian Peninsula and agreed to close the Baltic against all enemies of Sweden. *The geographical unity of Sweden became now complete.* But the peace did not last long and the war was renewed with the *siege of Copenhagen* (1658). Charles had already made a truce with Russia, but the Elector of Brandenburg at the head of the imperial troops continued to assist the Danes and compelled the Swedes to give up all their conquests on the mainland. At this crisis Charles X died (1660), paving the way to peace in the North through the mediation of England, France, and Holland.

Renewal of
the war :

Death of
Charles X.

Charles XI, an infant son of Charles X, now succeeded and a Council of Regency was set up with the Queen-mother at its head. The *Treaty of Oliva* was concluded between Sweden, Poland, and Brandenburg (1660), Poland ceding Livonia to Sweden and recognising the independent possession of Prussia to the Great Elector of Brandenburg. The *Treaty of Copenhagen* (1660) closed the Danish war on the same terms as at Roeskilde, except the clause about the exclusion of the hostile vessels from the Baltic. The general pacification of the North was effected by the *Treaty of Kardis* (1661) between Sweden and Russia on the basis of mutual restitution of conquests.

Reign of
Charles XI:
(1660-97).

Conclusion
of the
Northern
War, 1661.

During the minority of Charles XI, the nobles again became self-seeking ; the grants of domain-lands were made recklessly, and the financial reforms of Charles X were abandoned ; thus the treasury became empty, to replenish which the Regency began to receive subsidies from foreign powers. The greed of English gold had led Sweden to join the *Triple Alliance* against France in 1668. (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. I.*)

Condition
of Sweden
during the
minority of
Charles XI.

Sweden's
alliance with
France.

Charles's
war with
Brandenburg
and
Denmark :

Character
of the
reign of
Charles XI.

Reign of
Charles XII;
(1697-1718).

Alliance
against
Charles XII
of Sweden ;

As masterful Louis XIV had purchased English alliance in the *Secret Treaty of Dover* to make war upon Holland, so he subsidised the Swedish Regency in 1622. The Elector of Brandenburg had undertaken to support the Dutch in their war with France, and Charles XI to create a diversion in favour of Louis marched upon Brandenburg and made some conquests. The Great Elector however defeated Charles and with the help of Denmark expelled the Swedes from Pomerania (1675) which was completely subjugated. After the Peace of Nymegen which had concluded the Dutch War, a treaty was made between Sweden and Brandenburg through French intervention, by which Pomerania was restored to Sweden with the exception of a small district on the right bank of the Oder (1679). Charles XI made the royal power absolute and the council a creature of his will. He revived manufacture and commerce and being himself a warrior reorganised the Army and the Navy. He gave up the aggressive policy of his predecessors, and taking up the reins of the government himself (1672) abandoned the fatal policy of receiving French subsidies. He died in 1697, and was succeeded by his young and inexperienced son Charles, XII, known as the '*Lion of the North.*'

Peter's struggle with Charles XII of Sweden :

The central event of Peter's reign was his struggle for supremacy with Sweden in the Baltic, then the only high-way of Russia to civilised Europe. A triple league between Russia, Poland and Denmark was formed against Sweden through the efforts of Patkul, a Livo-

nian noble who had been condemned to death by Charles XII for representing about the misrule of Sweden in Livonia, (1699). The Danish king attacked Schleswig and Holstein, while the Poles and the Prussians overran the Swedish provinces to the east of the Baltic. Charles XII now besieged Copenhagen and compelled the Danes to make peace (1700). Peter had also advanced with a large army to *Nerva*, but he was signally defeated by Charles (1700).

Russian
defeat at
Nerva, 1700.

Intoxicated with his success, Charles now reduced Livonia, and entering Poland occupied Warsaw (1702). He next routed the Saxon forces of the then Polish king, Augustus Elector of Saxony, at *Clissow* and reduced *Krakaw*, and inducing the Polish Diet to declare the Polish throne vacant placed Stanislaus, a nominee of his own, there (1704). Charles then suddenly invaded Saxony (1706), where Augustus had withdrawn and compelled him to agree to a treaty acknowledging Stanislaus as king of Poland.

Conquest of
Livonia by
Charles and
his attack
on Poland.

Charles's
invasion of
Saxony.

Charles now had to direct his attention towards Peter who had, since his defeat at *Nerva*, reorganised his troops and conquered half the Swedish provinces on the Baltic and founded in 1703 amid the marshes at the mouth of the *Nerva* the city of St. Petersburg (modern Petrograd), destined to be the capital of Russia. He now marched against Peter, but his army, overcome by the hardships of the march and rigours of the climate, received a crushing defeat at *Pultawa* and he fled for refuge to Turkey (1709); thus *Nerva* was avenged. When Charles arrived at Stralsund (1714), he found Livonia, Esthonia, Riga, Finland, and certain other important Swedish towns already conquered by Peter and Augustus of Saxony restored on the

Charles XII
marches
against
Peter the
Great, and
sustains
a defeat at
Pultawa,
1709.

Events in
North
during
Charles's

absence
in Turkey
from 1709
to 1714.

His
renewal
of the
war with
Denmark
with the
advice
of Gorz.

Reign of
Ulricha
Eleanor
(1718-20) :

Pacification
of the North
by treaties
of peace,
1719-20.

Accession
of Frederic I.

Treaty of
Nystad and

Polish throne by the Czar ; Prussia under Frederick William I had joined the anti-Swedish alliance to enforce his claims on Pomerania ; Hanover under George I of England had taken the same side. Charles, unable to struggle against this formidable combination, came back to Sweden (1715) and immediately after Pomerania was completely reduced by Prussia and Wismar being taken by the allies, Sweden lost her last possessions on German soil (1716). In spite of domestic troubles, Charles continued the war, and by the advice of his minister, Gorz, a man of restless ambition and great diplomat, he thought of buying off Russia ; but he died in 1718 while invading Norway.

Ulricha Eleanor, sister of Charles now succeeded and was compelled by the oligarchical party to accept limitations on the absolute power of the monarch and to give up the policy of Gorz who was executed. Peace was hurriedly made through the intervention of the English minister, Carteret, with Hanover, Poland, Prussia, and Denmark, by which Hanover obtained Bremen and Verden, Augustus the Strong received recognition as king of Poland, Prussia obtained large part of Pomerania, and Denmark was exempted from Sound-dues and allowed to annex Schleswig (1719-20). Ulricha abdicated in favour of her husband, the Prince of Hesse, who was elected king as Frederick I (1720). Russia now brought her war with Sweden to a close at the *Treaty of Nystad* (1721) by which Sweden yielded to Russia Livonia, Esthonia and a few other places, and Peter restored Finland to Sweden and agreed to abstain from any interference in her internal affairs. Since Pultawa, Sweden had stepped down from

her position as great Power in the North, and the Treaty of Nystad transferred the supremacy on the Baltic from Sweden to Russia. its effects on Sweden.

Peter's war with Turkey :

When Charles XII had fled to Turkey after his defeat at Pultawa (1709), the Sultan, declared war on Russia at his instigation. At Pruth in Moldavia Peter was surrounded by the Turkish army but was rescued by the skilful negotiations of his mistress (afterwards wife) Catharine. As a result of the *Treaty of Pruth* (1711), Peter gave back Azov to the Turks, destroyed all Russian fortresses in the Turkish territory, and promised to allow a free passage to Charles XII. Critical position of Peter in Turkey.

Estimates of Peter the Great, and of Charles XII :

Though uneducated, uncivilised and addicted to sensual pleasures, Peter had a clear notion of the requirements of his subjects and displayed the highest qualities of constructive statesmanship. Like Philip II of Spain, he was a true representative of his race. His motive to establish an unqualified despotism in Russia was not like any motive of personal aggrandisement of Louis XIV. As he had little faith in the working of internal forces, he considered the despotic authority of the Czar as the only means to realise his ideal, and any opposition therefore to his various foreign innovations was ruthlessly suppressed ; even his own son, the Tsarévich Alexis, who opposed his progressive policy, had to die in prison from the effects of torture (1718). But in spite of his absolutism, he sought for the material interests of his people for which he was Peter's despotism in Russia. His interest in his subjects.

loved by most of his subjects, and hence the machinery of government set up by him worked well for a century after his death (1725). He is said to have uttered "I am the first servant of my people", and this he justified by his measures.

The power of Sweden, however, in the latter half of the 17th century, rested solely on her military organisation and the warlike ability of her rulers, and as a purely military state can not last long, it was natural to rouse the antagonism of her neighbours. Charles XII of Sweden, whom no dangers, however sudden or imminent, could occasion dismay, and who was a prodigy of strength as well as of energy, astonished all Europe by his successes against the allies; but these successes were destined to be fatal to his kingdom. He began to meditate enterprises against his enemies, extravagant and impracticable in their nature; and the cool and undismayed perseverance of his great adversary, Czar Peter, at length prevailed over his ill-directed ardour.

Charles XII
a prodigy
of strength
but an
unpractical
statesman.

Successors of Peter the Great :

Catharine I,
1725-27.

Peter II,
1727-30.

Czarina
Anne,
1730-40.
Elizabeth,
1741-62.

Peter was succeeded by his widow Catharine I (1725) who followed Peter's system of government, established close relations with Charles VI of Austria, and ruled firmly till her death (1727). During the reign of her successor Peter II, grandson of Peter the Great, the old Russian party with its reactionary policy was revived. But during the successive reigns of Anne (of Courland) and of Elizabeth, niece and daughter of Peter the Great respectively, Russia took up the thread of the great monarch's policy and came to be recognised as a great European

Power, successfully playing her parts in the War of the Polish Succession (1733-35), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), and the Seven Years' War (1756-63) (*Vide Bk. III, Ch. VIII*). Peter III, Elizabeth's nephew and successor, Peter III, 1762. was a weak and half-mad prince and his reign terminated in a few months through the intrigues of his ambitious wife Catharine II, who then ascended the throne (1762). During the reigns of Anne and Elizabeth, Russia had become a great Northern Power, and now Catharine II tried to make her still more powerful through her expansion towards the west and the south by destroying Poland and Turkey. Before her death she succeeded, in destroying Poland in conjunction with Austria and Prussia by the three famous partitions of 1772, 1773, and 1795 (*Vide Bk. III, Ch. IX*), and in bringing Turkey to her feet by utterly defeating the Turks in two wars. Reign of Catharine the Great, 1762-96.

Sultan Mustafa III being opposed to the Russian intervention in Poland had declared war against Russia (1768). The Russians drove the Turks from Moldavia and Wallachia (1770); after a temporary truce, hostilities were resumed and the Turks, being completely defeated, signed a *Treaty at Kutchuk Kainardji* (1774) by which Russia secured a firm footing on the northern coasts of the Black Sea, the right of free commercial navigation in Turkish waters, and the possession of Crimea and Kuban. In 1782, Catharine instituted the *Armed Neutrality* between herself, the Emperor, Prussia, and Portugal against the naval power of England, and, renewing the alliance with Emperor Joseph II of Austria, thought of making new acquisitions near Constantinople. The Turks First Russo-Turkish War, 1768-74; Armed Neutrality against England and Russian alliance with Austria.

Renewal of
the Russo-
Turkish
War,
1787-92

declared war against Russia in 1787 ; but they being defeated by Austria and Russia, Leopold II (the successor of Emperor Joseph II), and Catharine ended the war by separate treaties. By the *Treaty of Jassy* (1792), Russian territory extended along the Black Sea to the Dneister towards Moldavia. *Henceforth the Russian dream of advancing upon Constantinople was left to the successors of Catharine II.* In the midst of her military operations however Catharine protected and encouraged the Arts and Sciences, as well as the commerce of Russia, gave a new code of laws to her people, and opened the country more thoroughly to the western influences. She left Russia as the greatest Power of the North at her death (1796). Though a woman of great genius and an enthusiast for learning, Catharine was incredibly profligate and unscrupulous.

Domestic
government
of
Catharine II.

CHAPTER VI.

England and France before the French Revolution.

Effects of the 'Glorious Revolution' on the European Situation :

The 'Glorious Revolution' had not only brought a lasting check upon the abuse of the royal power in England, but also in other countries it totally changed the old popular conception of sovereignty, that succession to the throne was a matter of indefeasible hereditary right. It also established the principle that a nation had the right to impose religion upon its king. England and Holland henceforth co-operated to maintain a 'balance of power' in Europe by standing against the ambitious schemes of Louis XIV of France, the greatest champion of monarchical absolutism in Europe.

(a) Conception of sovereignty changed.
(b) Nation's right to impose religion on the king established.
(c) England and Holland opposed the schemes of Louis.

England after the Glorious Revolution :

Ascending the throne of England, William had to crush the risings in Ireland and Scotland in favour of the dethroned Stuart James II. His life-long desire was to check the aggressions of Louis XIV of France, the dangerous enemy of his native country. Now entering in alliance with the Emperor, he waged the War of the League of Augsburg against Louis, who was compelled by the *Treaty of Ryswick* to recognise William as king of England (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III*). Shortly after, to preserve the 'balance of power' in

Reign of William and Mary (1689-1702).

Foreign policy of William.

England joined the War

of the
League of
Augsburg.

William's
part in the
Partition-
treaties,
and his
formation
of the
Grand
Alliance.

The Act of
Settlement,
1701.

Reign of
Anne
(1702-14) :

England's
part in the
War of the
Spanish
Succession.

English
gains in
the war.

Europe, the two *Partition Treaties* for the Spanish dominions were effected, and William took a leading part in their arrangement as well as in the formation of the *Grand Alliance* between England, Holland, and the Empire against the union of France and Spain (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III*). Just at this juncture James II died, and Louis acknowledged his son, the 'Old Pretender,' as the rightful king of England. The English nation took it as a breach of the treaty of Ryswick, and at once joined the War of the Spanish Succession. But William did not live to see the result as he died in 1702, settling the succession to the throne by the '*Act of Settlement*' to his deceased wife's sister Anne and, in case of her death without heirs, to the Electress Sophia and the heirs of her body, being Protestants.

His successor, Queen Anne, played her part ably in the War of the Spanish Succession and won for England a leading position (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. III.*). The Tories were however averse to the war and did not approve of the brilliant progress of Marlborough. As the expenses of the war increased, people grew more weary of the war-mania and joined the opposition ; and as soon as the Tories came to power, Marlborough was disgraced and shortly after peace was secured by the *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713). Besides, some territorial gains of England (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. III*), the commercial monopoly of Spain in the West Indies was destroyed and England assumed the character of a great trading empire ; moreover, the revolutionary arrangement of 1688 received the sanction of Europe.

Meanwhile, the *Union of England with Scotland* by the Act of 1707, had been effected by which the two Parliaments were merged in

one, though Scotland maintained her own church and her own laws. Anne died in 1714, and with the accession of George I, the son of the Electress Sophia, the rule of the House of Hanover began. Act of Union, 1707.

England after the First Two Hanoverians :

The reign of the first Hanoverian sovereign, George I, was one of peace. But he had once to wage war against Philip V of Spain who in violation of the *Treaty of Utrecht* was trying to enforce his claim on the French throne. At this time, Alberoni, the son of a gardener in Piacenza who had come to Spain with his patron, had risen to eminence and become the chief minister of Philip V of Spain. He tried his best to recover the old position of Spain in Europe, and began to develop for this purpose the long-neglected internal resources of the country. He began to encourage commerce and industry, reorganise the Army, improve the finances and revive the Navy which had once made Spain great. In 1717 Spain seized Sardinia, which had been given to Austria by the treaty of Utrecht, and conquered Sicily to recover her old possessions in Italy. France, Holland, and the Emperor joined their hands with England forming the *Quadruple Alliance* and the Spanish fleet was beaten off Cape Passero by the English Admiral Byng (1718). Alberoni now began to negotiate with Gorz, the Swedish minister, to support the Jacobites against the Hanoverians, whilst, a conspiracy was concerted in France for deposing Duke of Orleans, the Regent of Louis XV, and giving the regency to Philip V of Spain. But all these failed, when Alberoni was disgraced in the court (1719).

Reign of
George I,
1714-27.

Aggressive
policy of
Alberoni,
the Spanish
minister.

The
Quadruple
Alliance
against
Spain and
the outbreak
of the
Spanish
War.

Walpole,
the first
Prime
Minister.

Establish-
ment of
the Cabinet
system of
government.

Reign of
George II,
1727-60.

In consequence of peace, there was a marked increase of speculation among the people in the reign of George I, and the famous *South Sea Bubble* (1720) caused much distress. There was a loud outcry against the ministers, and Sir Robert Walpole, one of the leading Whigs, restored public credit encouraged commerce and industry of the country, and became gradually recognised as the Prime Minister or the President of the English 'Cabinet.' This 'Cabinet' was an 'informal committee, composed of a dozen or more members of the Parliament, which carried on the practical administration of the government in consultation with the king. Owing to his ignorance of English language and English affairs, King George I ceased to attend the Cabinet councils, and became more and more dependent on his ministers. But he recognised that the Cabinet must be nominated by the Parliamentary majority as the national representatives had the right to control the national policy, and since then it has become dependent for its existence upon the will of the House of Commons. Thus the reign of George I, witnessed the final establishment of the Cabinet system, and the Commons gaining the ultimate voice in shaping the governmental policies, the power and influence of the Crown largely diminished.

Under the guidance of Walpole the new king, George II, continued the peace-policy of his father till whole Europe was convulsed by the War of the Austrian Succession (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII*). Commercial relations between England and Spain being again strained, Walpole was forced to declare war against Spain,

known as the '*War of Jenkin's Ear*' (1739). The war was conducted so sluggishly that all blame went to Walpole. Being himself an advocate of peace, he refused to take part in the War of the Austrian Succession for which his majority having melted away he had to resign office in 1742. England had consolidated herself under his rule when he had governed on the principles of common sense. Though a successful administrator and able financier, he introduced the corrupt system of bribery in managing elections and controlling the House of Commons. His motto was *Quiesca non movere* (let sleeping dogs lie)—not to rouse up opposition by attacking vested interests; thus he gave relief to the Dissenters by passing every year an *Indemnity Act*, instead of repealing the Test Act which remained on the statute book.

Foreign
policy of
Walpole.

Domestic
adminis-
tration of
Walpole.

The Jacobite Revolt of 1745 :

Though England gained nothing in the War of the Austrian Succession, save a confirmation of the commercial advantages secured from Spain at the treaty of Utrecht, the breach of the friendship between France and England did encourage the 'Young Pretender' Charles Edward to land in Scotland and to march up to Derby. He was however defeated at *Culloden Moor* (1746) and escaped to France where he died.

Defeat of
the 'Young
Pretender'
in Scotland.

England and the Seven Years' War :

The English House of Commons, could no longer continue the peace-policy. The colonial rivalry between England and France in America and in India led to the outbreak of wars between the two countries, which became blended with

William Pitt
and the
Seven Years'
War.

what in Europe is known as the Seven Year's War (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII.*). The war, at first disastrously against the English, brought the William Pitt, the 'Great Commoner' to the head of affairs in England and secured the English colonial supremacy in America and in India. Pitt's indomitable will and tireless energy pervaded every department of government and English misfortunes were retrieved. Frederick the Great rightly remarked of him, "England has at last brought forth a man."

France after the death of Louis XIV :

Regency of the Duke of Orleans :

Accession of
Louis XV
on the
French
throne,
and the
beginning
of the
Regency,
1715.

While Walpole was making England a leading commercial and industrial state in the world, France did nothing to recover her position after her disaster in the War of the Spanish Succession. After the death of Louis XIV, his great-grandson Louis XV, a boy of five, succeeded, and Philip Duke of Orleans became the Regent. The Regent, though a man of accomplishments, disgusted the people by his frivolous excesses and vicious character. In order to gain confidence of the nobles and the Parlément he appointed a Board of Ministers to watch over the departments of the state and introduced rather a constitutional form of government in place of royal despotism. The condition of the national finances had become so very deplorable after the War of the Spanish succession, that to meet the situation the Regent took up the suggestion of a Scotch adventurer, John Law, to form a bank having at its back all the resources of the state as security for issuing paper-money and to bring the whole national

Financial
difficulties
and Law's
schemes.

commerce under its control ; this inflation of the credit would not only enable the state to get rid of its debt easily, but to strengthen the monarchy by repurchasing the offices which had been sold and thereby reasserting its absolute control over the magistracy. Law's proposals having met with rejection at first, he established an independent bank in 1716 which, being successful, was converted into a state-bank in 1718. The bank was then united to John Law's *Mississippi Company* which had been given the exclusive monopoly of trade with the recently discovered territory of Louisiana. The combined affair enabled the government to pay off 1200 millions of national debt at 3%. The shares of the *Mississippi Company* were greedily taken up, a regular mania of stock-jobbing began ; paper-money went on being issued unlimited, which led to their depreciation and the crash naturally came in 1720, along with the South Sea Bubble in England. The bank stopped payment and was abolished afterwards ; John Law escaped from France for fear of life, and credit was shaken. But the losses fell more upon individuals than upon the whole nation and the government had substantially reduced its debt at the expense of private individuals.

The Regent however was successful in his foreign policy. Acting on the advice of Cardinal Dubois, he entered into an alliance with England against Philip V of Spain. Holland and the Emperor joined the alliance, thus making it *Quadruple Alliance* ; and when the war against Spain broke out (1718), a French army crossed the Pyrenees and compelled Spain to make peace (1720) and to dismiss her ambitious minister Alberoni. Spain being no

The
Mississippi
Company
and the
financial
crash.

Foreign
affairs :

The
Quadruple
Alliance,
and the
Spanish
war.

longer a formidable foe, she was won over by the Regent by double marriage alliances—Louis XV to marry the Infanta, and the daughter of the Regent to marry the Prince of the Asturias. This Spanish alliance however did not interrupt the cordial relations between France and England.

Peace
with Spain.

In 1723 Louis XV attained his majority and the Regency came to an end ; Dubois became the First Minister but he soon died ; Duke of Orleans also followed him to the grave (1723).

End of the
Regency.

Government of Fleury, and after :

Monsieur le Duc, the Duke of Bourbon, directed the affairs of the state from 1723-26 and bitterly persecuted the Huguenots. The imposition of a new land-tax on the privileged classes made him unpopular, and Cardinal Fleury came to power. He improved the finances by rigid economy, and like Walpole followed a pacific policy. Being an admirer of the Jesuits, he began to persecute the Jansenists. Though his foreign policy was one of peace, France had to wage war with Austria from 1733 to 1735 because of a difference on the question of Polish Succession (*Vide War of the Polish Succession, Bk. III. Ch. VII.*) and in it she gained the Duchy of Lorraine. The other war, the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48), though led to no territorial change in France, was followed by the rapid decline of the French power. France was compelled to recognise the maritime supremacy of the English which was fully established by the next great war, the Seven Years' War. Cardinal Fleury had died in 1743 at the ripe old age of 93, and the unity in administration was broken down by discord

Fleury,
the Chief
minister :

His
domestic
and foreign
policy.

Death of
Fleury and
its result.

among several rivals for power who tried to gain influence over the king. The real direction of French affairs however fell from this time in the hands of the royal mistress Madame de Pompadour and her favourites, and in the Seven Years' War (1756-63) France had to make enormous sacrifices (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII.*) French historians speak of this war as "an ignoble affair, a record of blunders and follies", as it not only frustrated completely the dream of a French colonial empire and of commercial supremacy in America and in India, but also drained France of her resources and alienated the people groaning under heavy taxation from the Bourbon monarchy.

Louis ruled with the advice of his mistress.

Loss of France in the Seven Years' War.

Later Years of Louis XV :

The next eleven uneventful years of the reign of Louis XV (1763-74) witnessed the development of the germs of those movements which led to the French Revolution. The court became highly corrupt ; the king cared only for his sensual pleasures and debaucheries ; the infamous *Parc aux Cerfs* (the Deer Park) spread shame and misery among hundreds of families and cost an enormous sum which told heavily on the ruined finances of the time. Madame de Pompadour died in 1764, and Choiseul became the chief minister. Choiseul tried to revive the naval greatness of France and to recover the lost French possessions from England. He subordinated the domestic affairs to foreign policy. At home, he was vexed by the Jesuits, and had to quarrel incessantly with the *Parlément* of Paris which tried to curb the royal authority over taxation and administration of justice, specially in matters of arbitrary imprisonment by *Lettres*

Ministry of Choiseul : (1764-70).

His policy at home and abroad.

Fall of
Choiseul,
and
Parlement
Maupeou.

Death of
Louis XV
1774.

de Catchet. The revolt of Paoli in Corsica was suppressed and Corsica was added to France (1768). The minister was dismissed from office in 1770, through the influence of the new royal mistress Madame du Barry, a woman of low origin, who now began to reign supreme over a triumvirate composed of Chancellor Maupeou, Finance minister Abbé Terrai, and Foreign minister, D' Aiguillon. Foreign affairs became neglected. Parlement of Paris and other provincial parlements were abolished, and a new and less independent judicial system was set up to do their works. Louis died in 1774, destroying the prestige of the great Bourbon monarchy built up by Henry IV, the Cardinals, and Louis the Grand.

England under George III (1760-1820) :

Conclusion
of the
Seven
Years' War.

In course of the Seven Years' War, George II had died (1760), and was succeeded by his grandson George III. His chief aim was to recover the influence of the Crown over the Parliament which he actually accomplished with the help of a party, called the *King's Friends* who voted in the Parliament according to the instructions of the king, and so the continental war had a secondary interest with him. He dismissed William Pitt, the 'Great Commoner', whose marvellous organization had led to the English victories in the war since 1758, and appointing Lord Bute, a man of his own choice as his minister, concluded the *Peace of Paris* with France (1763). By this peace England freed her American colonies from French attacks, while she laid the foundations of an empire in India (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII.*).

Thus, though the Anglo-Saxon race became

supreme in the New World, the conquest of The
 Canada prepared the way for the revolt of the American colonies. In 1765, the English Parlia- <sup>The American
 Revolution—
 its origin.</sup>ment taxed the American colonies by the *Stamp Act*, which, being resented, though was withdrawn, the right of taxing the colonies by the mother-country was formally asserted. So frictions continued, and when Townshend foolishly imposed some customs duties, agitations began afresh and Boston riots and massacres took place (1770). Lord North repealed all those duties except on tea (1773), which led to the throwing of the tea-chests from the ships into the Boston harbour by the colonists. Angry at this, the British Parliament passed Acts closing the Boston port for commerce, depriving Massachussets of its representative institutions, and prohibiting public meetings without leave of the Governor. The Congress at Philadelphia raised an army under George Washington for resistance against England and the 'Declaration <sup>Independence of
 America
 recognised,
 1783.</sup>of Independence' was issued in 1776. The English general Lord Cornwallis at last surrendered at Yorktown (1781), and at the *Peace of Versailles* (1783) the independence of the American colonies was recognised.

The success of the Americans soon encouraged the Irish to agitate for legislative independence, which was granted by the English ministry in 1782 being frightened at the American calamity. Troubles however did not end in Ireland and bloody encounters between the Catholic natives and Protestant colonists continued. Pitt the Younger, who had become Prime Minister in 1783, put an end to these conditions by the *Act of Union* (1800) <sup>Legislative
 independence of
 Ireland,
 1782.</sup>whereby the British and Irish Parliaments were <sup>The Act
 of Union,
 1800.</sup>

united into one for both the countries. Since then Ireland is being ruled from Westminster for all purposes.

The Act of Union however did not so much attract the attention of the people, for all Europe was then being convulsed by the great French Revolution. (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. I.*)



CHAPTER VII.

The Empire after the Peace of Westphalia.

Emperor Leopold I., (1658-1705) :

Emperor Ferdinand III. had concluded the Peace of Westphalia (1648) which humiliated the Hapsburgh powers. After his death his son Leopold I became Emperor (1658). His election was much hampered by Mazarin's intrigues with German Princes to place the Imperial crown on the head of Louis XIV of France. Though Leopold overcame all those difficulties, he was forced by the electors to confirm that article in the Peace of Westphalia which bound Austria not to send any assistance to Spain. This event finally broke the traditionary alliance between the two Hapsburgh powers and weakened both of them. As France utterly humbled Spain at the *Treaty of Pyrenees* (1659), the reigns of Ferdinand III and Leopold I may be said to have witnessed the destruction of Hapsburgh ascendancy and the establishment of Bourbon supremacy in Europe. However, Leopold tried his best to curb the ambitions of the Bourbons. When Louis XIV conducted his ambitious war against the Dutch (1672-78), Leopold sent assistance to the Dutch, though he gained no territories by the *Peace of Nymegen* (1678). Again, when Louis tried to push the French frontier into Germany, annexing cer-

Difficulties
at his
election.

His parts
in the
Dutch War,
and in the
War of the
League of
Augsburg.

His claim
to the
Spanish
succession.

tain territories by his system of 'Reunions' in times of peace, Leopold joined the League of Augsburg and made war upon the French (1688-97); but the *Peace of Ryswick* (1697) virtually gave him nothing. Then to re-establish Hapsburgh supremacy in Europe by re-uniting the Austrian and Spanish Houses of Hapsburghs under one crown, Leopold claimed that his second son, Archduke Charles, should inherit the Spanish crown after the demise of Charles II who was childless. But his plan was defeated by Louis XIV who secured the Spanish succession for his grandson, Philip of Anjou, by the second will of Charles II. The War of the Spanish Succession broke out in 1701, and Leopold died in 1704.

His war
with the
Turks.

Though unsuccessful to re-establish Hapsburgh supremacy in Europe, Leopold I had succeeded to keep the empire intact against Bourbon aggression. He also saved Europe by repulsing Turkish invasions of Germany. The Turks were utterly defeated at *St. Gothard* (1664), compelled to raise the second siege of Vienna (1683), and finally by the *Treaty of Carlowitz* (1699), they had to cede to the Emperor nearly the whole of Hungary, Transylvania, and Slavonia (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. IV*). It is just, that he earned the reputation of being the most powerful Emperor since Charles V.

Joseph I, (1705-II) :

He ruled only for six years, but his attention was much absorbed in the War of the Spanish Succession. He died (1711) and was succeeded by his brother Charles VI.

Charles VI, (1711-40) :***His war with Spain :***

Charles's election as Emperor threatened the European balance of power which England and Holland had tried their best to maintain in the War of Spanish Succession. So, Charles's allies concluded with Spain the *Treaty of Utrecht* (1713), the terms of which Charles had to accept. Charles accepted the treaty, but he never gave up his dream of Spanish succession. He formed a *Quadruple Alliance* (1718) with England, Holland, and France against the ambitious designs of Spain, which was returning to her former power and splendour under the able guidance of her minister, Alberoni. Though Charles's dream of Spanish succession was never realised, he was able to recover Sicily which had been conquered from Savoy without a pretext by Spain in 1718, and to retain it in exchange for Sardinia which was given to Savoy.

Charles
accepted the
Treaty of
Utrecht.

He joined
Quadruple
Alliance.

His war with the Turks :

In 1714 Sultan Achmet III declared war against Venice, and his troops conquered Morea and the Venetian fortresses in Crete. Emperor Charles at once joined Venice against the Turks, compelled them to raise the siege of Corfu, defeated them at *Peterwardein* and conquered *Temesvar*, the last Ottoman possession in Hungary (1716). Then *Belgrade*, the point from which Turkey always menaced Hungary and Germany, being conquered by the Imperialists in 1717, the Sultan sued for peace. By the *Treaty of Passarowitz* (1) the Emperor got the whole of Hungary, Belgrade, and a strip of

He assisted
Venice
against the
Turks.

Treaty of
Passarowitz,
1718.

Servia, (2) the Sultan kept Morea, (3) but Venice obtained no material advantages.

The Pragmatic Sanction :

Charles
issued the
*Pragmatic
Sanction*.

In the year 1718, the Emperor was at the zenith of his power by his successful conclusion of the wars against Spain and Turkey. But his power began to decline from this time, owing to his determination to have his *Pragmatic Sanction* confirmed by the European Powers who got endless opportunities to interfere in Austrian politics thereby.

The
'*Pragmatic
Sanction*'—
what it
was?

The *Pragmatic Sanction* was nothing but a document of Emperor Charles, accepted by his council in 1713, which contained three articles, vid. (1) that the hereditary Hapsburgh territories must remain one and indivisible, though under previous Emperors they were often subdivided ; (2) males of the House of Hapsburgh must succeed to those possessions in order of primogeniture ; (3) and in default of male heirs, first the daughters of Charles VI and then those of his elder brother Joseph I must succeed. It however gradually received the assent and guarantee of most of the principal European states: that of the states of the various dependencies of Austria between 1720 and 1723, of Spain in 1725, of Russia in 1726, of Prussia in 1728, of England and Holland in 1731, of the German Diet in 1732, of Saxony and Poland in 1733, and of France in 1735.

The Ostend Company :

Charles VI, to improve the financial condition of the Empire and to save the Belgic commerce which had been threatened by the closing

of the river Scheldt since the Peace of Westphalia, founded an East India Company at Ostend port in the Austrian Netherlands (1722). The company, while enjoying the direct Imperial patronage, was to pay 6% of its profits to the Imperial treasury.

The English, the Dutch, and the French E. I. Companies being jealous of this rival Company, England, Holland and France joined hands to suppress it. On the other hand, Spain, so long an enemy of Austria, joined her, fearing the commercial pretensions of England to a monopoly in Spanish America, and by the *First Treaty of Vienna* (1725) she guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction*, recognised the Ostend Company, and opened the Spanish ports to it, while Charles VI gave up his claims to the Spanish throne. This Austro-Spanish league was soon joined by Prussia, Russia, and the German princes. Thus, commercial rivalry became one of the chief factors of European politics, and it was about to involve Europe in a great world-war which, however, was averted by the disgrace of *Ripperda* (Alberoni's successor as the chief minister of Spain who desired to revive her commercial prosperity by destroying the maritime power of England and arranged the above Treaty of Vienna) through the pacific foreign policy of Walpole and Fleury, the two ministers of England and France.

Charles VI, however, soon gave up his Spanish alliance and, in order to gain the assent of England and France to the *Pragmatic Sanction*, suspended the Ostend Company for seven years at the *Congress of Soissons* (1728). Spain now entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with England, Holland, and

Formation of the Ostend Company.

Jealousy of England, Holland, and France.

First Treaty of Vienna, 1725.

Prussia, Russia, and German princes joined Austria.

A general war averted by the fall of Ripperda.

Charles forsook alliance with Spain.

Treaty of
Seville,
1729.

France by the *Treaty of Seville* (1729), and withdrew commercial privileges given to the Ostend Company.

Second
Treaty of
Vienna,
1731.

Enraged at the Spanish withdrawal of commercial privileges from the Ostend Company, Charles VI threatened to declare war against Spain, but he was pacified by Walpole who procured English guarantee for the *Pragmatic Sanction* in the *Second Treaty of Vienna* (1731) between England and the Emperor, by which Charles VI agreed to dissolve the Ostend Company. Thus, Charles sacrificed his subjects' interests in order to have his *Pragmatic Sanction* confirmed.

The War of the Polish Succession, (1733-35) :

This war is the most conspicuous example of the evils that were brought upon Austria by the Emperor's insane desire to have the '*Pragmatic Sanction*' universally confirmed.

Succession
question in
Poland.

Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and king of Poland, died in 1733. At once two candidates arose for the Polish throne—Augustus III of Saxony and Stanislaus, the protégé of Charles XII of Sweden. Emperor Charles VI supported Augustus III who had undertaken to guarantee the *Pragmatic Sanction*, while Louis XV of France supported his father-in-law Stanislaus, whom the Polish Diet elected as their king. In the war, which broke out after much quarrel between the partisans, Spain and Sardinia assisted France, Austria was driven out of most of her possessions in Italy, and Stanislaus was also compelled to fly from Poland. The war was closed by the *Third*

The
outbreak
of the war,
1733.

Treaty of Vienna (1735) by which (1) Augustus got the Polish throne, (2) Stanislaus got the Duchy of Lorraine, which on his death was to pass to the French king, (3) Don Carlos, son of Philip V of Spain, got Naples and Sicily with the title of King, (4) Sardinia got Novara and Tortona, (5) the Emperor got his lost territories, also Parma and Piacenza, (6) and France confirmed the '*Pragmatic Sanction*.'

Third
Treaty of
Vienna,
1735.

Last years of Charles VI :

The last few years of Charles were unhappy. Having declared war against the Turks in order to assist Russia which had attacked Turkey to recover Azof (1737), his armies were defeated and the disgraceful *Treaty of Belgrade* (1739) was the consequence ; Belgrade, Temesvar, Orsova, and all the country between the Danube and the Saave, were ceded to the Turks. He died broken-hearted in 1740, leaving a disjointed and ill-governed group of territories to his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, for whose succession he had laboured so much and brought ruin upon Austria.

The Austro-Turkish War (1737-39).

Death of Charles VI, 1740.

Charles VII (1742-45) :

The death of Charles VI plunged Europe in one general and ruinous war—the War of the Austrian Succession (1741-48) (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VIII*). By the '*Pragmatic Sanction*,' Archduchess Maria Theresa, on her father's death, immediately assumed the rule of Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and the other Hapsburgh lands with her husband Francis of Lorraine as joint ruler, and declared her husband Emperor. But the claims of Maria Theresa to the Imperial

Accession of Maria Theresa.

Her claim
to the
imperial
throne
subverted by
Charles VII.

throne for her husband Francis were disputed by Charles, the Elector of Bavaria, who had married Joseph I's eldest daughter. Though other princes claimed the imperial throne, Charles of Bavaria, was elected Emperor in 1742, supported by the arms of France. Thus the '*Pragmatic Sanction*,' for the confirmation of which Charles VI bestirred himself throughout whole life, became a dead letter. Charles VII died in 1745, and Francis I was elected Emperor by general European consent.

Francis I (1745-65) :

The works
of Maria
Theresa.

Maria Theresa kept her husband, Francis, in the back-ground by virtue of her superior qualities. She reorganised the army, reformed the finances, purified the law-courts, stopped the religious persecutions, and conciliated the subjects of various nationalities of the Empire, especially the Magyars of Hungary, with the help of the Imperial Chancellor, Kaunitz. But the Emperor became soon involved in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), owing to the Empress's inordinate desire to wrest Silesia from Prussia, which acquired it from Austria during the war of the Austrian Succession. In the war, Prussia had the advantage, while Austria suffered much. Francis died in 1765 and was succeeded by his son Joseph II with whom Maria Theresa jointly ruled the Austrian territories till she died (1780). In spite of her feminine weakness, she was a woman of lofty character and resolute courage. The purity of her domestic life and her devotion to her husband and children were remarkable in that age of moral decay. Her ability and energy saved Austria from ruin and disintegration.

Her
character.

Joseph II. (1765-90) :

His Reforms :

Joseph had very little harmony with his mother. His aim was to make of the Austrian dominions an ideal state, compact geographically, homogeneous in language and customs, the sovereign holding all power in his hands, and all the provinces being ruled alike. An enlightened prince as he was, he was the champion of religious toleration and an ardent advocate of domestic reforms. Joseph, though opposed by his mother, (1) made the Church subordinate to the State, (2) gave full religious toleration and rights of citizenship to the Dissenters, (3) made the serfs free by abolishing the privileges of the nobles, (4) granted full liberty to the press, (5) reformed the judicial administration, (6) reduced court expenses and cut down the pensions list, (7) founded and endowed schools for elementary education, and (8) compelled the Magyars of Hungary to adopt the German language and customs. In all these reforms, as well as in shaping his foreign policy, Chancellor Kauntiz had a large share. Like the Emperor, he was a partisan of the new movement and an advocate of aggressive foreign policy.

Her ability and energy saved Austria from ruin and disintegration.

Domestic reforms of Joseph.

His Foreign Policy :

Though conciliating at home, Joseph's foreign policy was to aggrandise Austria. He was one amongst others who were responsible for the *First Partition of Poland* (1772) by which he, for his share, got the country of Zips and Red Russia (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. IX*).

His part in the Partition of Poland.

When Maximilian Joseph, the Elector of

His designs
upon
Bavaria
and the
War of the
Bavarian
Succession,
(1777-79).

Bavaria, died (1777), the Emperor claimed a considerable part of the Electorate on a vague right which had been set up, but not contended for so long ago as the year 1425, by the Emperor Sigismud. Frederick the Great, the king of Prussia, fearing the territorial aggrandisement of Austria declared war against her. The war, known as the War of Bavarian Succession raged chiefly in Bohemia. It was, however, brought to a close by the *Treaty of Teschen* (1779) by which Joseph had to give up his project.

Formation
of the
*Fürsten-
bund*, 1785.

When Maria Theresa died in 1780, Joseph, to strengthen his position against the Prussian king, formed a close alliance with Catharine II of Russia. In 1785 he, never having given up his designs upon Bavaria, induced the Elector to exchange the Electorate for the Austrian Netherlands which he would get with the title of King of Burgundy. This high-handed scheme, which threatened to revolutionise the territorial relations of Germany, led Prussia, Saxony, Hanover, and other states to form the *Fürstenbund*, a sort of union, by which they pledged themselves (1) to maintain the existing constitution of the Empire, as established by the Peace of Westphalia, (2) to protect individual states against unlawful aggression, (3) and to oppose the projected exchange of Bavaria for the Netherlands. The formation of the *Fürstenbund* led Joseph at once to give up his project.

In 1787 Joseph paid a visit to Catharine II of Russia and renewed his alliance with her. The two ambitious monarchs also formed a bold plan of conquering and dividing the Turkish dominions in Europe. The Sultan took alarm and declared war against them. The war began in

1788, and in the same year, Prussia, England and Holland formed a *Triple Alliance* to oppose the schemes of Austria and Russia, and to maintain and consolidate the peace of Europe. Though the Austrian and Russian forces defeated the Turks in battles after battles, the politic steps of the members of the Triple Alliance, the death of Joseph II, and the pacific foreign policy of the new Emperor Leopold II—all combined to bring the war to a close by the Turkish *Treaties of Sistowa (1791) and Jassy (1792)* with Austria and Russia respectively.

His part
in the
Eastern
Question,
(1787-92).

His Character and Work :

Joseph died in 1790. An ardent champion of liberal ideas, eager to grant religious toleration and to introduce domestic reforms, Joseph was ambitious enough to increase royal power. He was the best, though not the greatest of those benevolent despots to whom Europe owes a good deal. No one can deny that he had a real enthusiasm for progress and love for humanity, but his idea was that he was to be the sole judge and interpreter of the general welfare of his people who should not participate in the work of reform. He endeavoured to imitate Frederick the Great of Prussia in his foreign and domestic government, but he failed. Professor Lodge remarks, "Joseph is like the boy playing with Chemistry, who loves to mix together the strongest compounds and to produce startling results ; Frederick treats his materials with the economy and straightforward purpose of the trained man of science." Thus, though he had laboured his life through to elevate and civilise his subjects he made them unhappy and discontented and

Joseph, the
best of the
benevolent
despots.

Joseph, as
compared
with
Frederick
the Great.

Joseph's
failures.

Reasons of
his failure.

His partial
successes.

earned their hatred. His plan of consolidation of the Austrian provinces ended in their complete dissolution. His hope of adding to his territories was frustrated, as at the time of his death they were in danger of being dismembered by Prussia and her allies. These failures were due to his doctrinaire and revolutionary haste to do many things at a time, his lack of that wisdom which a reformer must possess to take account of the beliefs, habits, and prejudices of men and of races, his attempts to ignore the past history, and his want of patience to wait for results. But he *did not fail in everything*: his abolition of serfdom, his system of education and of toleration, and his revision of laws produced beneficial results which came to be recognised later on.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Rise of Prussia.

Early History of Brandenburg and Prussia, and their Union :

"The cradle of the modern kingdom of Prussia is the Mark of Brandenburg." The Mark of Brandenburg had been formed in the 10th century on the northern frontier of Germany by the Teutonic knights at the invitation of Emperor Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX to suppress the Slavonic tribes of Wends. In 1415 at the Council of Constance, Brandenburg was given by Emperor Sigismund to Frederick of Hohenzollern and it was made an Electorate. By the time of Luther, Protestantism became the religion of Brandenburg.

The history of Brandenburg.

Prussia situated along the Eastern Baltic, was inhabited by the heathen Slavs in the Middle Ages. In the 13th century the Teutonic knights conquered and christianised the territory, but in their turn they were conquered by Casimir IV, the king of Poland, who annexed the western half of Prussia to his own kingdom whereas left the eastern half to the knights to be held as a fief under him. These knights became Protestant in the days of Luther, and Albert, a younger member of the Hohenzollerns and the then Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order, gave up his ecclesiastical dignity

The history of the duchy of Prussia.

and got Eastern Prussia as a duchy under Poland. Albert's successor acquired the duchy of Cleves by right of Albert's marriage. But Albert's line having failed in the 17th century, the duchies of Prussia and Cleves were inherited by the Elector of Brandenburg, relative of Albert.

Brandenburg and Prussia after their Union :

Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640-88) :

Foreign
policy of
the Great
Elector.

George William of Brandenburg played a sorry part in the Thirty Years' War, in which his dominions suffered much from the ravages of the Swedes. But his son and successor, Frederick William, the Great Elector, displayed extraordinary talents as a general and politician in the war and received valuable additions of territory in the Peace of Westphalia (1648). In the Northern War (1655-60), kindled by Charles X of Sweden, he freed the duchy of Eastern Prussia from the Polish suzerainty. Again he joined the *Triple Alliance* against Louis XIV (1673), but the Peace of Nymegen (1678) which concluded the Dutch war did not allow Frederick to retain his conquests.

His
domestic
policy.

The domestic policy of the Great Elector, however, was more successful than his foreign relations. He united the three separate territories of Brandenburg, Cleves, and Prussia by amalgamating their separate Diets, armies, and governments. He then established a sort of paternal despotism by making himself absolute

Frederick I, (1688-1713):

Frederick William I, (1713-40) :

Though endowed with practical good sense, Frederick William I, son of Frederick I, had no diplomatic ability and political ambition. He devoted himself chiefly to the reform and organisation of the army and the administration. His strict economy gave him a substantial surplus of revenue with which he maintained a large and well-disciplined army. He completed the Great Elector's work of centralising the various departments of the state. His want of confidence in his own diplomatic ability always kept him aloof from international affairs. However, in one war, the war against Charles XII of Sweden, in which he took part, he was successful in receiving an addition to his territory with the sea-port of Stettin on the Baltic. Alarmed at the alliance between Charles VI and Philip of Spain, Prussia joined England and France in the *League of Hanover* (1725), but next year, the

Emperor guaranteed to support the Prussian claims to Julich, Berg and Ravenstein, and Prussia joined the Emperor guaranteeing the *Pragmatic Sanction* and agreeing to aid Austria in any war with 10,000 troops. The duplicity of the Emperor, however, in evading his promise to support the Prussian claim induced Frederick William I to conclude a secret defensive alliance with France, the hereditary enemy of the Hapsburgs, thus putting an end to the traditional relation between his House of Hohenzollerns and the Imperial House of Hapsburgs, the natural suzerain of the former. After a peaceful patriarchal rule of 28 years, Frederick William I died in 1740.

*** Frederick II, the Great, (1740-86) :**

Contrast
between the
father and
the son.

Frederick II, a young man of 28, succeeded his father, Frederick William I, in 1740. The son, since his boyhood, was a perfect contrast to the father. He was a lover of modern civilization, a sceptic in nature, and an upholder of the principle that a king is the servant of his people; while his father had been conservative in his ideas of civilization, a bigoted Protestant, and an advocate of absolutism. Such a difference between the father and the son had once led to a clash between them. On his accession. Frederick's people expected much from him ; but his thirst for military glory, and his inordinate ambition to expand the kingdom of Prussia brought the kingdom several times on the verge of ruin. Still he may be called the hero of the Prussian monarchy, and *par excellence* the hero of the age. While he successfully resisted the power of half of Europe and extended the king-

The works
of Frederick
the Great.

dom of Prussia by conquests, he conciliated his numerous subjects by the wisdom of his administration. He established equality amongst them by doing away with all civil disabilities founded on religious differences, gave perfect freedom to the press, mitigated the rigours of the criminal law, abolished many of the barbarities practised in the name of military discipline, enforced economy in every department, highly disciplined the army, made every department of the state perfectly subordinate to his subjects, fostered education, and encouraged commerce and industry by draining great swamps, digging new canals and establishing factories. Indeed, he was as great in his projects as he was fortunate in their execution. The two great wars, the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, in which Frederick took part raised Prussia to the first rank among the military powers of Europe.

Domestic governments of Frederick the Great.

His foreign wars.

The War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and Frederick the Great :

The Causes of the War :

When Charles VI died (1740), Maria Theresa according to the 'Pragmatic Sanction' assumed the government of the Hapsburgh territories—Hungary, Bohemia, Austria and her possessions—with the title of the 'Queen of Hungary' and further claimed the Imperial throne for her husband Francis of Lorraine. But other claimants—Charles Albert of Bavaria, Augustus III Elector of Saxony and king of Poland, Philip V of Spain, and Charles Emanuel king of Sardinia,

Maria Theresa and four others put forth their claims to the Imperial throne.

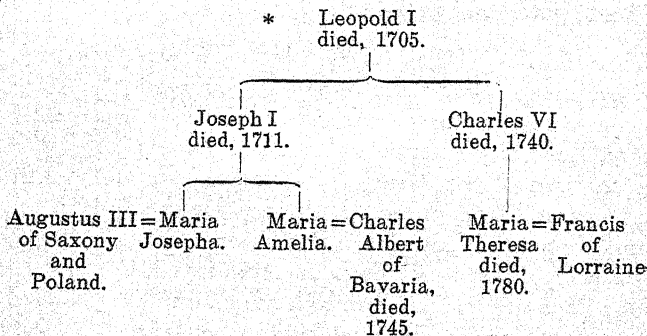
The grounds
of their
claims.

came forward to dispute the claims of Francis*.
(1) Charles Albert of Bavaria claimed the Imperial throne as the husband of Maria Amelia, the second daughter of Joseph I; (2) Augustus III, though he had guaranteed the *Pragmatic Sanction* in 1733, claimed it as husband of Maria Josepha, the first daughter of Joseph I; (3) Philip V of Spain, though a Bourbon in descent, based his claim to the Imperial throne on an old arrangement, between the two Hapsburgh Houses of Austria and Spain, by which the crown of one house was to devolve upon the other on the failure of male heir; and (4) Emanuel of Sardinia claimed the Imperial dignity on the ground that he was descended from Philip II of Spain. These rival claims respecting the succession to the Imperial throne resulted in a long mortal struggle which convulsed all Europe.

The Events of the War :

1. The First Silesian War, (1740-42) :

Frederick the Great of Prussia took this as



the golden opportunity of extending his kingdom. Without a declaration of war, without a cause, almost without a pretext, he suddenly invaded Silesia, one of the richest provinces of Austria (1740). The province was conquered by a glorious victory over the Austrians at *Mollwitz* (1741). The victory was a signal for general rising. Spain, Sardinia, Bavaria, Saxony and France sent their armies against Austria. The *Pragmatic Sanction* of Charles VI thus became a dead letter. Frederick, who had not as yet joined the coalition, urged Theresa to purchase his alliance by cession of Silesia, and his demands were also backed by England ; but Theresa refused and Frederick joined France which guaranteed Silesia to him. The French, Saxons, and Bavarians conquered Bohemia (1701). Maria Theresa, being desperate, roused the sensitive and gallant Magyars of Hungary by a pathetic appeal. They at once took up arms for the honour of their lovely queen. The enemies were driven out of Bohemia and Bavaria was conquered (1742). Maria Theresa then, won over Frederick the Great by the *Treaty of Berlin* ; by it Frederick got practically the whole of Silesia and promised to remain neutral. Thus the war came to an end.

Prussian
invasion of
Silesia.

League
against
Austria.

Maria
Theresa's
appeal
to the
Hungarians.

Treaty of
Berlin.
1742.

2. The Period of Prussian Neutrality, (1742-44) :

Prussia remaining neutral, fortune now favoured the Austrian arms. Helped by England and Holland, the old allies of Austria, Maria Theresa soon became mistress of nearly the whole of Germany.

Success of
Maria
Theresa.

3. *The Second Silesian War (1744-45) :*

Alarmed at the success of the Austrian arms and anxious for the safety of Silesia, Frederick broke his neutrality, relieved the hard-pressed enemies of Austria by drawing the Austrians upon himself, and defeated them in successive battles (1745). Charles Albert of Bavaria, who had been elected Emperor Charles VII by the enemies of Maria Theresa, died in 1745. The same year, Maria Theresa made the *Treaty of Dresden* with Frederick, who obtained the formal cession of Silesia and recognised Maria Theresa's husband, Francis of Lorraine as Emperor Francis I.

The Treaty
of Dresden.

Conclusion of the War, 1748 :

By the defection of Prussia, the enemies of Austria were humiliated, and finally, in 1748, the combatants, being tired of the war, closed it by the *Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*. By it, (1) Maria Theresa was recognised as the sovereign of Austria, and Francis as the Emperor, (2) Don Philip of Spain obtained Parma and Piacenza, (3) Sardina got Savoy, Nice and a part of Lombardy, (4) the Prussian conquest of Silesia was guaranteed, (5) France had to evacuate the Netherlands, to acknowledge the sovereign-power of Hanoverian dynasty in England, and to restore her conquest of Madras in India to the English.

Peace of
Aix-la-
Chapelle,
1748.

Effects of the War :

The French power rapidly declined after the war. The English supremacy on the sea was not affected. Prussia, extended in dimension, became first class European Power and a rival of

Importance
of the
Peace of
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

Austria in Germany. Sardinia laid the foundation of the present Italian kingdom by her acquisitions in Lombardy.

The Seven Years' War (1756-63), and the part played by Frederick the Great :

The Causes of the War :

Maria Theresa, now the Empress-queen, was bitterly thinking of the loss of Silesia, one of the wealthiest provinces of Austria, in the War of the Austrian Succession. Though advised by her husband, now Emperor Francis I, to improve the finances, to strengthen the army, and to maintain friendly relations with the maritime powers, Maria Theresa lent a more willing ear to the foreign policy of her minister, Kauntiz who hoped to recover Silesia and the former power of Austria by an alliance with France against Prussia. The opportunity, however, for such an alliance presented itself.

The origin of the war :
1. Maria Theresa's plans to recover Silesia from Prussia, after the War of the Austrian Succession :

Before 1756, the rivalry between the Hapsburghs and the Bourbons, the enmity between Prussia and Austria, and the alliances between Austria and England, and France and Prussia were, as if, self-evident diplomatic truths. But the diplomatic aspects of Europe had a sudden change in the year 1756.

2. The Diplomatic revolution in Europe in 1756 due to,—

Though in peace, in Europe, England and France were being ready to contest the empire of the sea. In America, the English and the French were struggling to settle the general limits of their colonies. In India, they were espousing the causes of rival princes to gain their respective commercial advantages.

(a) The colonial quarrels between England and France.

(b) Change in the foreign policy of Austria and her misunderstanding with England,
 (c) alliance with Prussia by the Convention of Westminster,
 (d) alliance between Austria and France by the First Treaty of Versailles.

3. Frederick's sudden invasion of Saxony.

4. Hatred of Czarina Elizabeth against Frederick and the alliance between Russia and Austria.

Though the English were not successful to beat the French on lands beyond the seas, English privateers were plundering French merchant-vessels in American and Indian waters. This quarrel between the two nations outside Europe soon appeared in the continent with the French conquest of Minorca (1756) which had become an English possession by the Treaty of Utrecht. George II of England, anxious to save Hanover from any French attack, appealed to Austria for its protection. Austria, having changed her foreign policy, refused to help England. Thus the long-standing friendship between Austria and England suddenly came to an end. England, then, entered into an alliance with Prussia, who promised to protect Hanover by the *Westminster Convention* (1756). France, on the other hand, entered into an alliance with Austria, both guaranteeing each other's territories against any foreign aggression, by the *First Treaty of Versailles*, (1756). Thus, a great Diplomatic Revolution took place in the year 1756.

Saxony, as she intrigued with Austria against Prussia, was invaded by Frederick the Great who entered Dresden, captured the state-papers, and published them to the world to justify his sudden invasion of the country (1756).

Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, being offended with England for the conclusion of the Westminster Convention with Prussia, made a treaty with Austria, promising to help her with men and money until Silesia was conquered and Frederick's power was considerably reduced (1757).

Again, Frederick's sudden invasion of Silesia led to the conclusion of the Second

Treaty of Versailles (1757) between France and Austria by which (1) France promised to support Austria with men and money, (2) Prussia was to be partitioned, (3) and the Netherlands was to be given to Don Philip of Spain—certain districts being annexed to France. Thus the most gigantic war, Europe had seen, since the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War, began.

5. Renewed alliance between France and Austria by the Second Treaty of Versailles.

The Events of the War :

1757—The allies desired to attack Prussia from all sides. But before they could march upon Prussia, Frederick, by his quick movements, entered Bohemia. When on the point of taking *Prague*, the Bohemian capital, a part of his army was defeated at *Kolin* compelling him to retreat to Saxony. Then the French, compelled the English general, the Duke of Cumberland, to sign the disgraceful *Convention of Closterseven* by which Hanover was surrendered to them and threatened Berlin from Alsace ; the Russians devastated Eastern Prussia ; and the Austrians conquered Silesia. Everything seemed lost to Prussia. But Frederick kept up heart, and utterly defeated the French and the Austrians at *Rosbach*. *Rosbach* saved Prussia from being partitioned out. Frederick then utterly defeated the Austrians at *Leuthen* and recovered Silesia. In India, the English captured *Chandernagore* and conquered *Bengal*.

Frederick's defeat at Kolin.

Frederick's victories of Rosbach, and Leuthen.

1758—William Pitt, the English Prime Minister, who had repudiated the Convention of Closterseven, adopted the policy of humiliating the French in America and in India by keeping them busy in Europe. For this Frederick was subsidised, and a part of the Hanoverian and Prussian troops was placed under the command

William Pitt subsidised Frederick.

of Ferdinand of Brunswick. Ferdinand recovered Hanover and Frederick defeated the Russians at *Zorndorf*. In America, the English captured *Cape Breton* and *Fort Duquesne*.

Defeats of
Frederick.

1759—The year was disastrous to Frederick. Though Ferdinand of Brunswick signally defeated the French at *Minden*, Frederick himself was severely defeated by the Russians at *Kunersdorf* and a Prussian force surrendered to the Austrians at *Maxen*. Admiral Boscawen defeated and destroyed the Toulon fleet of France off *Lagos*, and established English maritime supremacy in the Mediterranean. Admiral Hawke annihilated the Brest fleet of France in the *Quiberon Bay*, preventing the invasion of England contemplated by the French minister *Choiseul*. In America, General Wolfe captured *Quebeck*. In India, French admiral Lally failed to take *Madras*.

English
successes
on the sea.

Frederick's
success at
Torgau.

English
victories
in America
and India.

Peace
negotiations
opened.

1760—Frederick of Prussia improved his position by defeating the Austrians at *Torgau*—the last pitched battle of the war. In America, General Amherst captured *Montreal* and made the English master of all Canada. In India, Admiral Sir Eyre Coote destroyed the French fleet at the battle of *Wandewash* securing for the English the first place in the Carnatic.

1761—In India, Admiral Coote captured *Pondicherry*, destroying the French power in the south. The disasters of the French in America and in India induced *Choiseul*, the French minister to resume peace negotiations, seconded by Austria and Russia who had become tired of the war. English minister, Bute, who came into office after the retirement of Pitt, also desired peace with France.

1762—England signed the preliminaries of

peace with France before the end of the year, suspending all hostilities against her own land and sea. Russia detached her troops from the Austrians and made a treaty of alliance with Prussia. Close of
the war.

The Conclusion of the War and its Effects:

England and France concluded the *Treaty of Paris* by deserting their respective allies. By it, (1) in America, France ceded to England *Nova Scotia, Canada* and *Cape Breton*, retaining a few small islands for fishing industry; the Mississippi formed the boundary between English and French colonies; (2) in Europe, France gave up *Minorca* and withdrew her army from German soil; (3) in India, she had to cede all her possessions to England, retaining only a few settlements only for commercial purposes, being forbidden to fortify them or maintain troops. The Treaty
of Paris,
1763.

With the withdrawal of England and France from the war, Prussia became helpless, and Austria abandoned her hope of reducing Prussia. Both parties then agreed upon peace. By the *Peace of Habertsburg* (1) Maria Theresa ceded Silesia to Frederick finally; (2) Frederick evacuated Saxony, and agreed by a secret article, to support the election of Maria Theresa's son, Joseph, as King of the Romans. The Peace of
Huberts-
burg,
1763.

Importance of the War :

The war, made Prussia a first class military power, brought Germany under the dual leadership of Austria and Prussia, and gave England an unrivalled supremacy in the sea. It freed the English-American colonies from French attacks, made England supreme in the New The general
results of
the war.

World, and laid the foundation of an English empire in India. It turned England, 'the workshop of the world' and her people commercial to the extreme, and made commercial rivalry the principal factor in international politics. France was robbed of her military prestige, her colonial and commercial ambitions in America and India were frustrated, her resources were drained off, and her people were alienated from the Bourbon monarchy.

Frederick Part in the First Partition of Poland :

Frederick rounded out his dominions at the expense of Poland, 1772.

For several years after 1763, Frederick devoted his attention to the consolidation of his power and to the material prosperity of his subjects. But his inordinate desire, to extend Prussia in dimension, led him to join Austria and Russia in the First Partition of Poland (1772) by which he gained Polish or Western Prussia, establishing, thereby, the necessary continuity between his central and eastern provinces.

Frederick and the Question of Bavarian Succession :

Treaty of Teschen.

The 'Fürstenbund.'

When Joseph II of Austria claimed Bavaria in 1778, Frederick by an armed demonstration, backed by France and Russia, compelled him to give up his claim by the *Treaty of Teschen* (1779). Again, when in 1785 Austria wanted to exchange the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria, Frederick formed the great league of the German princes, the *Fürstenbund*, to maintain the condition of the Empire as established by the Peace of Westphalia.

Estimate of Frederick the Great :

Frederick died in 1786, leaving to his nephew Frederick William II, a prince of much inferior ability, an extensive and prosperous kingdom, a huge well-disciplined army, and a well-filled treasury. In ability and force of character, Frederick was superior to his contemporaries. Carlyle calls him "the last of the kings" in the sense that there was none after him as great as he. Expediency was his only guide in the conduct of foreign affairs, but in his relations to his own people he followed the code of duty. His conception of kingly office was so just and exalted, that he considered himself as "the first servant of the state," and in this lies his difference from Louis XIV who is said to have said 'I am the state'. He not only looked after the material well-being of his subjects, but also devoted himself regularly in philosophical and literary pursuits. A free thinker himself, and sceptic in nature, he was indifferent towards all religions and hence tolerant. His ambition was to aggrandise Prussia and glorify himself, in which he succeeded. Centralising all power in his own hands, he made Prussia a new centre of German crystallisation. As a legislator, a general, a statesman, his genius was superb. He was one of those men whom Nature produces at long intervals, and was certainly a political rarity whom Mill would call the 'true ruler of men'—an Enlightened Despot.

Frederick's
superiority
over his
contempo-
raries.

His
conception
of kingship.

His
toleration.

CHAPTER IX.

Southern Europe after the Peace of Hubertsburg, and the Partitions of Poland.

Spain after the Seven Years' War :

Rule of
Charles III,
(1759-88).

Adminis-
tration of
Florida
Blanca.

Ministry of
Godoy.

When the Seven Years' War had begun in Europe, Ferdinand VI, son of Philip V, was on the throne of Spain. He was succeeded by his half-brother Charles III in 1759. Charles had an exaggerated idea of the royal power and a firm determination to maintain and advance it. He put an end to the exclusive privileges and pretensions of the clergy and the nobles, which stood in the way of royal absolutism. This policy of centralising the royal power brought Charles into collision with the Jesuits who were the greatest obstacles to it. But during his long reign, Spain was governed by two ministers, Campomanes and Florida Blanca, who were champions of liberal ideas and reform which led to the advancement of agriculture, commerce, arts, and an enormous increase in the population. Charles died in 1788, and Florida governed the country wisely for four years more in the reign of Charles VI. His peace-labours were much affected by the French Revolution (1789) and his supersession by Godoy (1792) whose administration was as void of plans as it was injurious to the state.

Portugal after the Seven Years' War :

Portugal had shaken off the Spanish yoke

in 1640 under John, Duke of Braganza, who became king as John IV. Alphonso VI, the son of John IV, was dethroned by his brother Peter, who in 1668 concluded a treaty with Spain, by which Portugal was declared an independent kingdom. This was effected by the mediation of Charles II of England who had married the Infanta Catharine, sister to Alphonso and Peter. In 1706, John V succeeded to the throne on the death of his father. During his long reign of 45 years, Portugal sank into complete insignificance; her commerce passed to England; her government was carried on by ecclesiastics; and her people grew superstitious. Joseph I, son and successor of John V, took delight in vicious pleasures and left the government in the hands of his minister, Marquis of Pombal. Pombal gained a complete control over the feeble king and became an absolute despot at Lisbon. He introduced vigorous reforms in every department of the state and enforced them despotically. The people became highly dissatisfied, and the Jesuits encouraged the popular discontent leading to a collision between the Order and the minister. Pombal's reforming activity, however, continued till the death of Joseph I (1777) when the crown passed to his eldest daughter Maria. Maria, who adopted a reactionary policy, dismissed and disgraced Pombal, who died in 1782; and Portugal relapsed into her former lethargy.

Independence of Portugal recognised by Spain, 1668.

John V. (1706-50).

Joseph I. (1750-77).

Pombal's ministry in Portugal.

Downfall of Pombal.

Suppression of the Jesuits :

When the Seven Years' War ended, the Order of the Jesuits was on its trial in the Catholic countries in Europe. These Jesuits

Position of
the Jesuits
after the
Seven Years'
War.

The
Philosophic
movement
of the 18th
century and
the sup-
pression of
the Jesuits.

Expulsion
of the
Jesuits—
(a) from
Portugal.

(b) from
France.

had for a long time influenced the courts of the kings and ruled the minds of the people, but now they degenerated into a class of merchant-missionaries and began to think more for worldly pleasures than for satisfying the spiritual needs of the humanity. By the middle of the 18th Century, the men of letters, specially in France, had become a great political power in Europe. Freedom of thought was being pushed to the very extreme by the political philosophers like Montesquieu. Voltaire, and Rousseau who followed the English philosophers of the 17th century *viz.*, Hobbes and Locke, though in a different way. The spirit of this new philosophic movement made itself felt in every department of learning, in Natural Science, in Mental and Moral Philosophy, in Political Economy etc., and rulers like Frederick the Great, Catharine II of Russia, Joseph II, took leading parts in the movement. Even the Catholic states of Southern Europe caught the spirit of the new ideas which led to the suppression of the Jesuits, the aggressive champions of Catholicism.

The first blow to the Jesuits was dealt by Pombal, the able minister in Portugal, in 1757 when he forbade them to approach the court without permission, to carry on trade or to preach. In 1758 they became involved in a conspiracy to murder the king; their properties were confiscated by Pombal in spite of the Papal opposition, and they were transported by sea to Civita Vecchia (1759).

In France, the Jesuits had quarrelled with Madame de Pompadour, the powerful mistress of Louis XV, and the bankruptcy of La Valette, the head of the Jesuit mercantile establishment

at Martinique, gave her an opportunity to attack the Order. The whole society was charged of fraud and peculation, and the Parlement of Paris decided against it in 1761. At the instance of the provincial parlements, the people, the minister Choiseul, and the royal mistress, a royal edict was published in 1764 expelling the Jesuits from France.

Following the examples of Portugal and France, Venice and Genoa had restricted the privileges of the Jesuits. In 1767, they were expelled from Spain by a royal edict as well as from Parma and the Two Sicilies. Next they were driven from Bavaria in 1772, and finally in 1772 Pope Clement XIV issued a bull abolishing the Order of Jesus to the great satisfaction of the progressive party throughout Europe.

(c) from
Venice,
Genoa,
Spain,
Parma,
Sicily, and
Bavaria.

Partitions of Poland :

History of Poland before the first Partition :

Poland had become one of the powerful kingdoms in Northern Europe in the 16th century. The dynasty of the Jagellons ruled the country from 1386 to 1572, and the history of their reign was the common history of a barbarous monarchy. After the death of Sigismund II, the last hereditary Jagellon king (1572), the nobles made the Polish crown elective, and drew up a constitution by which although Poland remained nominally a monarchy, it became an oligarchical republic in disguise, the nobles in the Diet holding all powers. Henry of Anjou, the first elected king, could not break the severe conditions imposed upon him by the Polish Diet, and on the death

Rule of the
Jagellons,
(1385-1572).

Stephen
Bathori
and the
beginning
of the
Catholic
reaction.

War
between
Sweden and
Poland.

The Treaty
of Oliva,
1660.

of his brother, Charles IX, king of France, he fled from Poland to ascend the throne of France as Henry III. Stephen Bathori, prince of Transylvania, who had married a sister of the last Jagellon king was then elected king. During his reign, Catholic reaction began in Poland (*Vide Bk. II. Ch. II.*). On his death (1586), the strong Catholic party secured the election of Sigismund III, son of John, the deposed king of Sweden. He took vigorous measures for the restoration of Catholicism in Poland, and for his extreme advocacy of Catholicism, he had to give up his hope of getting back the Swedish throne which his father had lost. The sixteen years' reign of his son and successor, Ladislaus VII, ended in 1648, when John Casimir V, his brother came to the throne. His reign was full of disasters. When Casimir claimed the Swedish crown which his grandfather had lost, and refused to recognise Charles X of Sweden, Charles invaded Poland, utterly defeated him at Warsaw (1656) and completely humbled him. But when the 'Northern War' was closed (1660) with the death of Charles X, Casimir had to renounce his claim to the Swedish throne and to give the Duchy of Prussia to Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg, in full sovereignty by the *Treaty of Oliva* (1660) with Sweden. Casimir then attempting to gain an uncontrollable and absolute sovereignty in Poland excited a civil war, as a result of which he could not maintain his footing in Poland and went into voluntary exile resigning the Polish crown (1669). Michael Wiesnowiski, who reckoned his descent from a brother of Jagellon, was next elected : but as he was a weak prince, the Turks invaded Poland and took the border

province of Podolia (1672). About this time, Turkish
 o great general arose in the person of John Sobieski, who saved Poland from the invasion of Poland, 1672.
 of a Cossack horde. For his signal service he
 was chosen king in 1674, on the death of Michael.
 At the invitation of Emperor Leopold I, he had
 to fight against the Turks who had besieged
 Vienna for the second time. The Turks were
 forced to raise the siege (1683), and thus
 Germany, nay all Europe, became freed from
 the danger of a Mahomedan yoke. Sobieski
 died in 1696, and with him expired the greatness
 of Poland.

Greatness
 of Poland
 under John
 Sobieski.

The Polish Constitution, and the Decline of Poland :

The seeds of the decline of Poland were
 sown when the crown had been made elective
 and the new constitution drawn up (1572). The
 government became nominally a monarchy
 though a oligarchical republic in disguise, the
 nobles having a monopoly of power. No
 middle class existed as a sort of link between
 the nobles and the serfs. The three bases of the
 constitution were—(a) the *elective monarchy*
 which enabled the nobles to arrange their own
 terms with the king at the time of his election
 (b) the *liberum veto* by which the Diet's deci-
 sions could be nullified by the vote of a single
 noble, (c) the *right of confederation* by which
 a number of nobles might combine, even take
 up arms when necessary, to secure an object.
 The anarchical results of these institutions were
 patent enough.

The
 anarchical
 character
 of the new
 constitution.

The downfall of Poland was however
 hastened by the course of events in the 18th

Rule of
Frederick
Augustus II.

Invasion of
Poland by
Charles XII
of Sweden,
1702.

War of the
Polish
Succession,
1733-35.

Decline of
the greatness
of Poland.

Reasons
for the
intervention
of Prussia.

century. The reign of Sobieski's successor Frederick Augustus II, Elector of Saxony, witnessed many disasters. Poland was invaded and conquered by Charles XII of Sweden (1702-3) who compelled the Polish Diet to depose their king and to elect Stanislaus I, a protege of his own in his place (1704). But the reverse of fortune, which Charles experienced at *Pultawa* in 1709, gave back Frederick Augustus II his crown, Stanislaus being deposed.

Augustus II died (1733), and his son Augustus III claimed the Polish throne hoping to make it hereditary in his family. On the other hand Louis XV of France wanted to place again his father-in-law, the deposed Stanislaus I, on the throne of Poland. These rival claims led to the War of the Polish Succession (1733-31) as a result of which Augustus III, backed by Austria and Russia, was confirmed on the Polish throne (*Vide Bk. III. Ch. VII*). The reign of Augustus III in Poland was deplorable. The Diet was distracted by factions; the national assembly was dissolved by *liberum veto*; the country began to decline in wealth, population, and public spirit. Moreover religious difficulties made the situation worse; the non-Catholics who had been excluded from offices and the Diet, now began to seek for help from the neighbouring powers, thereby giving them an opportunity to interfere in Polish politics.

Motives of the Powers to intervene in Polish affairs :

It was the interest of Frederick the Great of Prussia to prevent his rival, the Elector of Saxony, from making the Polish crown heredi-

tary in the Saxon house ; he was also anxious to secure the intervening territory of Poland which cut off East Prussia from Brandenburg ; again, to support the cause of the Polish Protestants or *Dissidents*, who were being persecuted, was another of his guiding motives. Catharine II of Russia desired to exclude the Saxon House from Poland as Saxony was not on good terms with Russia and was the ally of Austria and France, the two rivals of Russia, and if possible to annex Poland ; but as it would involve her in a European war, she adopted a moderate policy to bring Poland under her control by placing a native on the throne who would look to her for support. France and Austria wanted to keep Poland intact and to avoid war ; but their vascillating policy could not prevent the partition.

Policy of
Catharine II
of Russia.

Designs of
France and
Austria.

First Partition of Poland (1772) :

Through the machinations of Catharine II of Russia, Stanislaus II, a weak and vascillating prince, was elected king after the death of Augustus III (1764). He became a puppet in the hands of Catharine and Poland soon came completely under Russian control. The Polish patriots formed a league called the '*Confederation of Bar*' to regain their former liberty, but Russia suppressed the league. Now Prussia proposed the partition of Poland but Russia refused (1768). But shortly after, when Sultan Mustafa III declared war upon Russia and taking advantage of it, Austria occupied a portion of Poland, Russia consented to the scheme of partition and a treaty was signed at *St. Petersburg* (1772) between the three Powers. By it, (1) Russia annexed Polish Livonia and part of

Russian
supremacy
in Poland.

Prussian
proposal of
partition.

Treaty of
*St. Peters-
burg*,
leading to
the partition.

Lithuania, (2) Prussia gained Polish Prussia, and (3) Austria took Zips and Red Russia. Stanislaus II remained king of the rest of Poland.

Second Partition of Poland (1793) :

Reform of
the Polish
constitution,
1790.

Since the first partition, Stanislaus remained a vassal of Russia ; but the party of reformers in Poland radically changed the constitution into a constitutional monarchy. By the new constitution the crown was made hereditary, the executive power was vested in the king and a responsible council of ministers, the legislative power was conferred on the Senate and an elective Diet, and *liberum veto* and the *right of confederation* were abolished. Catholicism became the state-religion whereas toleration was granted to other faiths.

Attitude
of the
neighbour-
ing states.

Russia became furious at his reform; Prussia did not like to see a strong monarchy in its immediate neighbourhood ; whereas Emperor Leopold II of Austria considered a strong independent Poland as a bulwark against Russian aggression in the West.

Russian
intervention
and
abolition of
the new
constitution.

In 1792 Catherine of Russia, closing her war with the Turks, invaded Poland. In spite of the appeal of Poland to Frederick William II of Prussia, he remained neutral, and the sudden death of Leopold II deprived the Poles of any assistance from Austria. The resistance of the Poles, who were divided at home, to Russia became ineffectual ; Stanislaus was compelled to abolish the new constitution and restore the old anarchical one. Prussia and Russia now made the second partition of Poland (1793), by which Prussia secured Danzig and Thorn, and Russia took Eastern Poland. Austria became indignant, though she was powerless being handicapped by

Russia
negotiated
the second
partition
with
Prussia.

the revolutionary war in France. Unfortunate Stanislaus, now practically a vassal of Russia, had to accept the humiliating treaty, '*Eternal Silence*,' by which no change could be made in the constitution by the Poles nor they could enter into foreign relations without the express consent of Russia. The '*Eternal Silence*'.

Third Partition of Poland (1795) :

The Polish patriots were not inclined to surrender their independence without a blow. They gathered under the banner of Kosciusko, their leader, and drove the Russian representative and his troops from Warsaw. But the Prussians defeated Kosciusko at *Rawka*, and the Russians defeated and captured him at *Maciejowice* ; Warsaw surrendered after a patriotic defence, and the country lay prostrate at the feet of the conquerors. With the capture of Kosciusko perished the last hope of Polish independence, and Poland ceased to be a state when Russia, Prussia, and Austria too made the final partition in 1795. By the partition, Russia got the lion's share, about 2000 sq. miles ; Austria received about 1000 sq. miles with Krakow ; and Prussia obtained the remainder, over 700 sq. miles. Stanislaus II, who had been the nominal king of Poland since 1764, now abdicated and retired to St. Petersburg. Kosciusko, afterwards released, died in Switzerland in 1817. Revolt of Kosciusko and its suppression by Russia.
The third partition of Poland, 1795.

Thus perished an ancient kingdom playing a great part in Europe owing to its anarchical constitution, and the greed of the neighbouring states.

BOOK IV.

THE ERA OF REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

The French Revolution.

The Evils of the Old Regime in France :

(a) *The Monarchy :*

The causes
of the
French
Revolution :
1. The
despotic
character
of the
Bourbon
monarchy
and the
abuses and
extra-
vagances
of royal
authority
under
Louis XV.

Louis XIV, while he had centralised the government in France thoroughly and deprived the people of any share in politics, looked to their material interests. But his frivolous and incapable successor Louis XV did not care for the material welfare of his subjects and began to abuse the absolute authority of the king. Further, Louis XV being a slave to his low passions, his mistresses and the greedy courtiers virtually began to rule the country, and the people became alienated from the monarchy. The administration of justice was shamefully abused by the issue of warrants, called *Lettres de Cachet*, one of the most odious forms of arbitrary imprisonment.

(b) *The Aristocracy :*

2. The
unjust
retention
of the
rights and
privileges

The nobles had degenerated into a body of court favourites and lost their social independence. Again while in the 18th century the duties of feudalism had perished with the gradual centralisation of monarchy,

the nobles were still allowed to retain their rights and privileges. As landlords, they were cruel, haughty, and selfish, exercising the rights of hunting and forestry to the injury of the peasants and exacting forced labour and taxes from them. Moreover, they had a monopoly in the army, navy, church, and court, and they claimed exemption from direct taxes such as the *Taille*.

(c) *The Clergy :*

The Higher clergy, as they were recruited from the nobles, were oppressive, self-seeking, and indifferent to the spiritual duties. The Lower clergy, as they came from middle classes and peasants, were poor and had to work hard without any hope of promotion and hence they sympathised with the popular aspirations.

(d) *The Third Estate :*

This order embraced the bulk of the population below the two privileged orders viz. the nobles and the clergy, and was divided into two chief classes the *bourgeoisie* or middle class and the lesser citizens. The middle class being constituted of the well-to-do citizens had no identity of interests with the lesser citizens. All municipal appointments being saleable, most of them were held by the wealthy *bourgeoisie* while the lesser citizens groaned under the tyranny of the guilds and other such associations.

(e) *The Working Classes and the Peasants :*

Intense misery prevailed amongst the working classes and the peasants. The wages

5. The misery of the labourers and the peasants.

were low ; lands were minutely divided and subdivided ; the proprietorship of fiefs constantly passed from hand to hand in the market. Besides, the heavy burdens imposed on the produce of the soil made good cultivation impossible. 'Famine was like a disease which counted its victims by hundreds'. To crown all, such oppressive taxes as the *Tithes* for the church, the *Taille*, the *Gabelle* or salt tax, &c., as well as such compulsory duties of feudalism as the *Corvees* (compulsory labour imposed by the central government for making and repairing roads &c.) and a vexatious term of militia-service made them destitute, degraded, and hopeless.

(f) *The Popular Institutions :*

6. The suppression of the popular institutions.

They were all suppressed. The *States-General* had ceased to be summoned since 1614. The local governments in the five outlying provinces, called *Pays-de-tat* had no vitality. The *Parlements* were suppressed by Maupeou, the minister of Louis XV.

(g) *The Lawyers :*

7. The growing influence of the lawyers.

They were wealthy citizens and having seats in the 'parlements' held immense legal power. Though a conservative body, they struggled in vain against all invasions of ancient usages whether from the side of the king or from the side of the people.

(h) *Influence of Literature :*

The men of letters began to promulgate revolutionary ideas and exerted enormous influence on public opinion. Montesquieu was the first to give France the theory of a mixed government ; his type is a legislature divided

into two bodies and a monarchy invested with the right of veto and with responsible ministers. Voltaire and his followers began to vindicate that philanthropy ought to be the aim of the government and that the welfare of the people is higher than even the interests of the ruling family or the privileged classes, as also to expose the scandals of the church. The Encyclopædists, of whom the most eminent were Diderot and D'Alémbert, went a step further preaching atheistical opinions, so as to undermine the whole fabric of Christian theology. Starting from the abstract theory that all men had originally equal rights and every man liberty to employ his time, his hands, his brain, according to his own advantage, a school of Economists, of whom the name of Quesnay—the celebrated author of the doctrine of "*Laissez faire, laissez passer*"—stands most prominent, began to preach entire liberty in trade, commerce, industry and agriculture and to expose the evils of slavery and slave trade, of interference in trade, of close guilds, of feudal duties, of taxes like *Taille* and *Gabelle*, and demanded their reform. Lastly, Rousseau developed a new theory of social organisation as based originally on the principle of contract and began to preach the 'Sovereignty of the People' and to attack monarchical absolutism and abuses arising therefrom. 'Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains,' the opening line of his 'Social Contract' completed the revolution in the realm of ideas; and the Revolution in America where the new ideal of political liberty seemed to have been realized added to the influence of the writers.

8. The revolutionary spirit of the French philosophy and literature and its effects on public minds.

9. The influence of the American Revolution.

(i) Financial Position :

10. The financial straits of the government due to the ambitious wars and luxuries of the court.

The ambitious wars of Louis XIV had not only destroyed the naval supremacy and the colonial dominions of France but had ruined her finances. The infamous *Parc-aux-cerfs* built by Louis XV to satisfy his low passions added heavily to the financial distress. The luxury of the court, maintenance of sinecures, the extravagance of the thoughtless Queen Marie Antoinette, wife of Louis XVI (the successor of Louis XV), and the open assistance of France in the cause of republican liberty in the American War of Independence impeded the bankruptcy of the state.

The great famine of 1789 helped the Revolution.

N. B.—While all these causes were in operation, a serious scarcity of bread in 1789 due partly to deficiency in crops and partly to the annulment of the restrictions on corn-trade according to the ideas of the Economists, contributed immensely to the elements of disorder of the time and gave the revolutionary movement a savage and desperate character.

Louis XVI and the Evils of the Old Regime :

Accession of Louis XVI :

Reign of Louis XVI (1774-93) :

his character ;

Louis XVI succeeded his grandfather at the age of twenty. Though free from the gross vices of his predecessors, frugal in habit and sincerely desirous of the welfare of his subjects, he lacked those qualities which are requisite for a sovereign at a great national crisis. Having no self-confidence and being irresolute in action, he was inclined to go by the advice of others.

specially of his vivacious though inexperienced wife Marie Antoinette—daughter of Empress Maria Theresa and sister of Emperor Joseph II—whose baneful influence over the king and on the state ultimately proved fatal both to her and her husband. He began his reign with a good set of ministers. Maurepas, the first minister was a champion of new ideas ; Turgot, the great financier, was the finance minister ; Vergennes, an able diplomat, took charge of foreign affairs ; and Malesherbes, an advocate of progressive ideas was in charge of home affairs. With these able persons at the head of affairs, Louis XVI hoped to remedy the evils of the '*Old Regime*' from within; but the evils had created such a suspicion in the minds of the people that they clamoured for the restoration of old '*parlements*,' hoping thereby their distress would be minimised. The ministers of advanced thought hesitated to restore the '*parlements*' which consisted of hereditary bodies of lawyers who opposed all sorts of reforms and tried to secure their own selfish ends ; but ultimately they were restored on condition of good behaviour. This was a great political blunder, as the '*parlements*' soon came into collision with the king in opposing the well-meaning reforms of Turgot.

his choice of ministers ;

his restoration of the Parlements.

Reforms of Turgot :

To restore the finances and to prevent a continued deficit of revenue, Turgot enforced a rigid system of economy in every department of the state, and to establish equality amongst the subjects he abolished many privileges, established perfect freedom of trade in corn within the provinces of the kingdom, stopped

Financial and other reforms of Turgot :

the *Corvees* and proposed to substitute in its place a land-tax payable by all proprietors, did away with the guilds and other similar associations so that every one might choose his occupation, and wanted to reduce the expenses of the royal household.

His plan
of the
restoration
of local
self-
government.

He had also in contemplation a plan for the restoration of local self-government by creating a grand national municipality in Paris which would control the provincial municipalities. These provincial municipalities were to be representatives of the municipalities of the villages. But before this plan could be carried out, his administrative career was cut short when the hesitating king, suddenly dismissed him, (1776) being induced by the privileged classes whose interests he dared to overlook.

His fall.

[Two successive worthless non-entities came after him. They abolished all his reforms and thereby collapsed the credit of the state which became involved in fresh financial difficulties.]

Administration of Necker :

Necker, a Genevese banker, was next appointed as the 'Director of the Royal Treasure' (1776). He was not a statesman like Turgot with definite aims in view, but an able financier, and a humane man anxious to improve the condition of the masses. Having considerable faith in the power of credit, he thought that commerce and manufacture might be encouraged by an artificial inflation of the currency with the help of paper-money. At this time, France plunged into the American War of Independence and the expenses of the war were to be met by economy and loans on

His
financial
policy.

favourable terms. Necker abolished the system of farming taxes, so as to bring them directly into the coffers of the state, and proposed to establish a provincial assembly, composed of 12 nobles, 12 clergies and 24 members of the Third Estate, for the purpose of supervising public affairs. He announced that the *Taille* and other taxes should not be increased except by legislation. The principle of giving publicity to the national accounts was first introduced by him, when in 1781, to restore credit published his famous state-paper, *Compté rendu*, revealing the actual financial position of the state. The privileged classes raised a loud outcry against him for going against their interests and demanded his downfall. He resigned office in 1781, and with his fall all hopes of administrative reforms came to an end.

The reforms of Necker excited hostility and lead to his resignation.

Circumstances leading to the Meeting of the States-General :

(a) Necker's successor was Fleury. He adopted a policy of reaction by excluding from offices in the Army all who could not prove four generations of nobility on their father's side. Also to pay the interest of the swelling National Debt he had to impose new taxes. The Parliament of Franché-Comte, inspired by the establishment of American independence raised a loud outcry against the taxes and for the summoning of the States-Genral (1783). Fleury resigned.

Reaction against administrative reforms during the incum-bencies of—
(a) Fleury,

(b) D'Ormesson, successor of Fleury, stopped the payment of public obligations and thus virtually declared the bankruptcy of the state and was dismissed.

(b) D'ormes-son,

(c) Calonne, the next incumbent, kept the real financial position of the country concealed from the court as well as from the people, and by a lavish expenditure of the public money for the gratification of the princes and nobles swelled the National Debt enormously. At the end of 1786, Calonne found himself totally resourceless to meet the heavy deficit and proposed sweeping reforms like the imposition of a general land-tax and freedom of trade in corn, substitution of a poll-tax for the *Corvees* and such other means to raise the revenue. These proposals as they were meant to attack the interests of the privileged classes led the king to summon an *Assembly of Notables* (1787), composed chiefly of the nobility, the higher clergy and the magistracy, which proved recalcitrant and drove Calonne from office.

The
Meeting
of the
Notables,
1787.

Brienne's
plans and
his quarrel
with the
Parlement
of Paris.

The demand
for the
meeting of
the States-
General.

(d) Brienne, the Queen's nominee, now came to the office. Being incompetent and having no policy of his own, he adopted the policy of his predecessor. The Notables now granted him what they had refused to Calonne. They allowed redemption of the *Corvee*, free trade in corn and provincial assemblies, and the general land-tax. The new measures, however, proved insufficient to meet the demands of the state, and Brienne proposed fresh taxes. The *Parlement* of Paris opposing the imposition of new taxes, quarrel broke out between the king and the *Parlement*. The *Parlement* sought to purchase the popular support by proclaiming that the States-General alone could legally impose taxes. Riots broke out everywhere and people demanded the meeting of the States-General, the almost forgotten national assembly which had not met

to deliberate upon the affairs of France for a period of 175 years. Brienne resigned ; Louis reluctantly declared to summon the States-General, and to regain confidence recalled the popular minister Necker (1788). Recall of Necker.

Fall of the Old Regime :

The Meeting of the States-General, and its Change into the National Assembly :

The *States-General*, the old feudal Parliament of France, consisting of the elected representatives of the clergy, the nobles, and the *Tiers Etat* (Third Estate, or the Commons) now being summoned (May 5, 1789) according to the king's promise, it became necessary to determine its constitution. As regards the number of representatives which each of the above three orders should possess, Necker, to win popularity, allowed the Third Estate a number of representatives equal to the other two orders taken together. As regards the question whether votes should be taken by individuals or by order, nothing was decided. All citizens over 25 years of age paying capitation-tax could choose 'Electors' who were to choose the 'Deputies' and to draw up the *Cahiers* or statements of grievances and suggestions of reform for the guidance of the Deputies in the States-General. The calling of the States-General, May 5, 1789.
The question of its constitution and method of voting.
The Cahiers.

The States-General thus came to consist of 1139 deputies of whom 291 were clergy, 278 nobles, and 570 members of Third Estate. The clergy and the nobles, however, being in minority and so being less powerful than the Third Estate, refused to deliberate and vote Meeting of the States-General.

The Third Estate declared itself the National Assembly, June 17, 1789.

together with them. Consequently, the Third Estate, which meant to remain supreme in the Assembly, declared itself the '*National Assembly*' ignoring the existence of the other two orders (June 17, 1789). Some of the lesser clergy and some nobles of moderate reforming ideas e.g., Lafayette, Lally-Tolendal, and others, joined it.

The National Assembly and the king :

The first attempts of the Assembly.

The Assembly now guaranteed the public debt, declared the existing taxes illegal (though they were allowed to stand so long as the Assembly was not dissolved), and appointed a committee to enquire into public distress.

The hall of the Assembly closed.

On June 19, 1789, the clergy decided to join the Third Estate. To prevent this union, Louis XVI, now under the influence of the court-party, prohibited any further sessions of the Assembly and closed the hall. The Assembly, being angry, held its meeting at the adjacent Tennis-court and took a solemn oath not to separate until the constitution had been framed on a solid basis (June 20, 1789). Next day, however, the Tennis-court being cunningly occupied by the court-party, the Assembly met in St. Louis's chapel where it was joined by the majority of the clergy.

The Oath of the Tennis Court, June, 20, 1789.

On June 23, 1789, the three orders were summoned to a royal sitting, and the king forbade the discussion of burning topics e.g., property and privileges of classes, declared the Assembly's decrees of June 17 as unconstitutional and hence annulled, ordered the immediate discussion of the Assembly and the meeting of the States-General in three separate chambers. Most of the nobles and some of the clergy

The royal sitting and the order to dissolve the National Assembly.

obeyed the royal order, but the Third Estate and most of the lesser clergy led by Mirabeau, a statesman whom no one in France could rival at that time, decided to remain united to maintain the decrees of the 17th at any cost and to declare the persons of the members of the Assembly inviolable. Next day the clergy and 43 nobles under Duke of Orleans again joined the Assembly. Louis, thus finding his plan defeated, induced the remaining nobles and clergies to join the Third Estate. Thus the three estates were finally constituted as one Assembly, establishing its legislative supremacy. This supersession of the authority of the King by that of the Assembly in matters of legislation may be taken to be the first step towards the Revolution.

The attitude of the Third Estate and its ultimate victory.

Revolutionary Paris :

Since the meeting of the States-General, agitation in Paris was increasing daily. The city was suffering from famine and there were bread-riots. The government could not maintain order. 'Political liberty threatened to degenerate rapidly into anarchy'. There was no standard of political organisation or political morality, and there were no able and responsible leaders. In the *cafés* round the Palais-Royal, the residence of the Duke of Orleans (who was formerly a leader of, but now an instrument in the hands of the revolutionary men), the mob-leaders of Paris discoursed to excited throngs on the 'Sovereignty of the People, and denounced the enemies of democracy. The whole city was in a state of anarchy. So the 120 Paris-electors who had sent 20 deputies to the National Assembly took upon themselves the government of the city, and proposed to the king to maintain

Disturbances in Paris.

The government of Paris assumed by the electors.

Dismissal
of Necker
and the
rising in
Paris.

Formation
of the
National
Guards.

order by raising a body of civic guards, instead of by royal troops as he wished.

Louis refused to hear these things and at the same time dismissed Necker, the moderate reformer (July 11, 1789). As a result, an excited Paris-mob came into collision with the royal troops, and the French guards of the Royal militia joined the mob. The Paris-electors now organised themselves into a sort of police-force, and other cities imitated Paris. These hastily recruited popular bodies took the name of the famous '*National Guards*.'

Fall of the Bastille and its Results :

Storming
of the
Bastille,
July 14,
1789.

On July 14, 1789, the Paris-mob attacked the Bastille, the ancient state-prison in Paris—the *great monument of Bourbon tyranny*—and after a fight with the royal troops, razed it to the ground. *The fall of the Bastille thus marked the overthrow of the 'ancien regime'.* It established the Sovereignty of the People, as the incident of the 23rd June had established the legislative supremacy of the Assembly.

Its results :
(a) Recall
of Necker;
(b) Paris
municipality
and National
Guard
recognised;
(c) Provin-
cial risings.

The king alarmed at the critical state of affairs ordered the withdrawal of royal troops, recalled Necker, declared himself ready to co-operate with the National Assembly in restoring order, and recognised the Paris municipality and the National Guards. Though order was restored for some time in Paris, the cry of liberty soon created tumults in the provinces also. Mayors and municipalities were elected in every city, even in small country towns, and provincial National Guards were organised for self-defence. Thus the People practically usurped the power of the King.

The Decrees of 4th August, 1789 :

The political supremacy of the People in Paris and the provinces being established, the National Assembly, now the supreme legislative authority in France, wanted to remove the popular grievances by legislation. It decreed the abolition of all privileges relating to subsidies, opened up all offices and dignities which were no longer to be sold, abolished serfdom, *Corvees* and all customary services, reduced the exclusive hunting rights of the king, dissolved the guilds and other close corporations, converted the *Tithes* into money-payments and did away with the old rights of jurisdiction of the lords. Thus the decrees destroyed the last relics of feudalism in France and finally terminated the '*ancien regime*,' vindicating the freedom of labour and equality of men in the eye of the law. The day is famous as the '*St. Bartholomew of property*,' but it was rather the '*St. Bartholomew of abuses*'.

The abolition of feudal privileges and fall of the old Regime.

The Revolution and its progress :

A. The Constituent Assembly (Aug. 4, 1789—Sept. 30, 1791) :

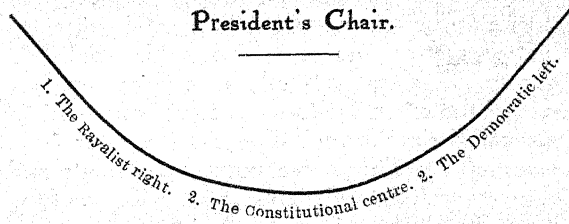
Composition of the Assembly :

Since the Oath of the Tennis court, the National Assembly had become known as the '*Constituent Assembly*,' i.e., Assembly "to make the constitution,—perfect constitution, under which the French people might realise their Millenium." The decrees of 4th August having destroyed the old system and having conferred the powers of the Monarchy to the

The Constituent Assembly—why so called?

Assembly, the task of founding the new constitution was begun in order to give permanence to the changes already effected. But for want of political experience, the Assembly became divided into three parties with three different principles of government :—

President's Chair.



The
parties in the
Assembly.

(a) *The Royalist or reactionary party*, consisting of nobles and higher clergy, the champions of prerogatives and privileges, who formed the *right* side of the Assembly ;

(b) *The Constitutional or moderate party* composed of few nobles and higher clergy, numerous lower clergies, and deputies of the Third Estate, desirous of a constitutional monarchy but opposed to democratic principles, who sat face to face with the President forming the *centre* of the Assembly e.g. Necker, Malouet, Lally-Tolendal and others ;

(c) *The Democratic or national party*, consisting chiefly of democratic deputies, haters of despotism and class-privileges, who formed the *left* side of the Assembly e.g. Mirabeau, Lafayette, Abbe Sieyes, Branave moderate democrats ; Petion, and Robespierre—extreme democrats and others ;

The *Reactionary right* opposed all the reforms of the Assembly and soon lost its

ground. The *Constitutional centre* lost its popularity for its extreme advocacy of constitutional monarchy and its bitter opposition to the democracy. The *Democratic left*, most numerous, led by Mirabeau its orator, and Abbe Sieyes its legislator, won the hearts of the people by its attempts to establish a free constitution followed by remedial legislations. Thus the *left* got the upper hand in the Assembly.

The democratic party at last gained the upper hand over the two other parties.

Constitutional labours of the Assembly :

(a) *Declaration of the Rights of Man*—The Assembly now, in imitation of the American Republic, issued the manifesto of the principles of the Revolution which declared, that men have natural rights to liberty, property, and security, as also the right to resist tyranny; that men are born equal in rights; that all persons are equal in the eye of the law, and have equal right to hold offices if they possess virtue and talent; that the Nation is Sovereign and the laws are nothing but expressions of the general will.

The Rights of Man drawn up :

(b) *Legislature*—It was declared to be one and indivisible. This was to be elected by all paying direct taxes to the amount of three days' wages. The king and his ministers were to be answerable to it, and the royal veto to be suspensive and not absolute.

2. A single chamber and suspensive veto :

(c) *Administrative organisation*—The old provinces of France with all their separate privileges and institutions were abolished, and France was divided into 83 *Departments*, equal in extent and population, each again being subdivided into *Districts* which were further divided into *Cantons*, and *Communes* (some being large towns and others mere villages).

3. Territorial divisions of the country, and their organisation for administrative purposes.

The *Department* had an administrative council of 36 members and an active (executive) directory of 5, elected from the *District* council and directory respectively. The *District* had a smaller administrative council and an active directory, subordinate to those of the *Department*. The *Canton* was an electoral unit in which all active citizens (citizens paying a direct tax amounting to 3 days' wages) chose electors, who in their turn chose every two years the members of the various *Departmental* and *District* councils and directories, also the deputies to the Legislature. The local affairs of the *Communes* were placed under the direction of municipalities, the members of which were chosen directly by the inhabitants.

Establishment of local courts and other reforms.

(d) *Judicial reforms*—Local courts were established in place of the old 'parlements' and the special tribunals of the king, and a court of Appeal set up in Paris; the varieties and complexities of administration of justice in different provinces were abolished; the rigour of criminal laws was lessened, and trial by juries was introduced in criminal cases; the sale of judicial offices was stopped, and judges were elected by active citizens for six years. Thus France obtained a uniform system of law and justice.

Measures adapted to improve the finances:

(e) *Financial measures*—To meet the increased financial difficulties various measures were adopted which could not give any permanent relief. Church property to the value of 400 millions of Franks was decreed to be sold (Dec. 19, 1789). The municipality of Paris, hoping to make some profit out of the sale, undertook to purchase these properties; but having no ready money, it was allowed by the

state to issue *Assignats* or inconvertible paper-bonds, realisable only in lands, in proportion to the given amount of church-property. Later on, all the monasteries were dissolved and their properties confiscated. The 'Assignats'.

(f) *Civil constitution of the Clergy*—The confiscation of all church-property alienated the clergy from the democratic movement. The Assembly further decreed (July, 1790) the civil constitution of the clergy which made them desperate enemies of democratic reforms and led them to kindle a civil war in France. Each of the 83 *Departments* was made into a bishopric. The bishops and parish priests were to be elected by the electors of *Departments* and *Districts*. Salaries of the bishops were reduced and all the clergy were required to maintain this new constitution. The new constitution of the church.

Rapid growth of the Republican party :

Since the ascendancy of the *Democratic left* in the Assembly, it has been noticed how the power of the Monarchy was immensely curtailed by the constitutional changes. About this time journalism and clubbism were shaping the ultra-democratic opinions in the country. The object of the clubs of the time were to watch over the conspiracies of the royalists, to keep alive the flame of the Revolution by continued agitation, and to serve as links between the Assembly and the people. The two more famous of them were the *Society of the Cordeliers* and the *Jacobin Club*. Journalists like Brissot, Desmoulins, Marat &c., who formed the *Society of the Cordeliers*, while in words declaring their loyalty to the new constitution were really exciting their discontent against it The influence of the political clubs :

The
Cordelier
Society,
and the
Jacobin
club.

and making it a difficult task to maintain order. The *Jacobin Club*, with its affiliated societies throughout France, tried at first moderately to give an organisation to the democratic party, but soon fell under the domination of the ultra-democrats.

March of
the women
of Paris to
Versailles,
and the
royal family
taken to
Paris.

Meanwhile riots had become rife in Paris owing to increased scarcity of bread, due to a famine and introduction of free-trade in corn and flour. On October 6, 1789, many thousands of hungry women of Paris, followed by a mob and joined by the National Guards, marched from Paris to Versailles and compelled the king, the royal family and the Assembly to return to Paris, fondly believing that bread would be abundant were the king once securely established in their midst. This event literally ruined the Monarchy and the king became practically a prisoner of the mob.

Mirabeau
and his
policy.

The only man who understood the dangers to which France was now drifting was **Mirabeau**. Though an opponent of the old regime, he was a sincere supporter of the Monarchy. His aim was to make France socially democratic with a strong monarchical constitution. He now repeatedly urged the king to leave France to free himself from the control of the mob; but he warned him against encouraging a foreign invasion of France in his support, which would unite the whole country against him. Louis listened to his advice but too late. When Necker resigned office in Sept. 1790, Mirabeau could not enter the ministry as a law had been passed by the Assembly forbidding any of its members to hold office in the court during its session; but he continued to defend the Monarchy, according to an understanding

His advice
to the
king.

His
relations
with the
court.

between him and the court. However the last hope of the French monarchy perished with his death on April 2, 1791. Unrivalled as an orator and endowed with a deep political insight, Mirabeau assisted the Revolution with his daring in its trials. Though his moral character was not on a par with his abilities, undoubtedly he was a 'hero' of his age, as Carlyle speaks of him. His death and character.

The death of Mirabeau greatly weakened the king's position and made him almost helpless. So, on the night of June 20, 1791, the king with his family left Paris in disguise to fly from France ; but he was arrested next day on his way, brought back to Paris amidst the reproachful silence of the mob, and was suspended and imprisoned. Flight and capture of Louis XVI.

The most advanced section of the *Jacobins* like Robespierre, Piteon, Marat, &c. now held, that the king had forfeited his crown by his flight and demanded either a new ruler or Republic. But the Constitutionals were not prepared to sacrifice the constitution which had been built up with so much labour, and by employment of force at Champ-de-Mars released the king from the hands of the mob and the ultra-democrats ; they reinstated him on his formal acceptance of the constitution (Sept. 14, 1791). Henceforth, however, the people began to look down upon the 'Constitutionalists'. Revision of the constitution and the king's acceptance.

Attitude of the European States :

The democratic propaganda of the Revolution as embodied in the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man' was a protest against the principles on which the governments of other states were founded. Many of the crowned heads of Europe were allied with the royal Causes of anxiety in the European states.

Motives of
Russia and
Austria.

The
Declaration
of Pilnitz,
1791.

family of France and their sufferings attracted much sympathy. The kings of Spain, Naples and Sardinia were anxious to help Louis XVI. The Emperor of Austria and the Elector of Cologne were brothers of Marie Antoinette. Again, several of the German princes who were affected by the abolition of the feudal rights in Alsace by the Assembly claimed redress from the Diet which called upon the Emperor to take practical steps. The French emigrant nobles established a sort of court at Coblenz and implored the chief courts of the continent to restore the old regime in France. Catharine II of Russia to obtain a free hand in Poland encouraged Gustavus III of Sweden to help them. Emperor Leopold, brother of Queen Marie Antoinette, anxious for the safety of his unhappy sister had held a conference with king Frederick William II of Prussia and issued the *Declaration of Pilnitz* (Aug. 27, 1791) stating that the position of the French king was a matter of European concern and required an active intervention of the great Powers on behalf of him. The declaration however had the effect of deepening the sense of hatred of the 'Republicans' in France, though it could not terrify them at all.

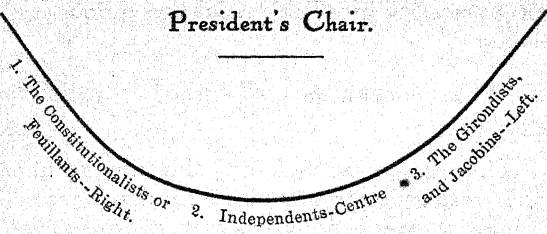
B. The Legislative Assembly (Oct. 1, 1791—Sept. 21, 1792) :

Composition of the Assembly :

After revising the constitution, the Constituent Assembly declared itself dissolved (Sept. 30, 1791). The new Assembly which was elected (Oct. 1, 1791) consisted of no partisans of the old monarchy and privileged classes. It con-

tained 745 members, all men without experience. Burke calls it a 'dominion of pleaders' as there were 300 lawyers, and 70 journalists in it.

President's Chair.



(a) The *Constitutionalists* or *Feuillants* as they were called, occupied the *right* and were close adherents of the constitution. But this party was out-matched by the *left*. The parties in the assembly.

(b) The *left* was divided into two sections, the *Girondists* and the *Jacobins*. The *Girondists*, so called from the district of Gironde from which several of their leaders were returned, had a theoretic aversion to the monarchical government and had strong faith in revolution. Their guiding-spirit was Madame Roland. Their famous orator Vergniaud, philosopher Condorcet, veteran journalist Brissot, and calm and determined Petion, by virtue of superior intellectual gifts gave an ascendancy to their party. The *Jacobins*, (later known as the *Mountains*) though fervent democrats, were as yet less numerous and less reputed than the *Girondists*, but had the support of the famous *Jacobin* club with Robespierre at its head and backed up by the demagogues and mob of Paris.

(c) The *Independent centre* consisting of 200 members oscillated between the *right* and

the *left*, eager to maintain the throne but at the same time afraid of giving a hearty support to the executive or of taking strong measures to check the revolutionary movements. Their votes were the great objects of the various party-leaders.

The Measures of the Legislative Assembly :

Edicts
against the
emigrants
and the
non-juring
priests.

The royal
veto.

The emigrants, including the king's brother, who were trying to organise a foreign invasion of France, were ordered to return to France on pain of being condemned to death and confiscation of property. All priests who had not accepted the 'Civil constitution of the Clergy' were to be deprived of pensions and to be removed from their district for any disturbance in it. The king accepted the decree against his brother only, but vetoed those against other emigrant nobles and the non-juring bishops. The *Girondists* and the *Jacobins* seized this opportunity for a fresh attack upon the king.

War against Austria and Prussia, and the Fall of the Monarchy in France :

Outbreak
of the
Revolutionary
war and its
causes.

The *Declaration of Pilnitz* by Austro-Prussia, and the open preparations of French emigrant nobles in the neighbouring states against their own country turned the national enthusiasm in the direction of the war ; besides, the *Girondists* believed that a war with the sovereigns of Europe would overthrow the Monarchy. Frightened at this rapid growth of the war-party in France, Emperor Leopold concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Prussian king (Feb. 1792) and permitted

his minister, Kaunitz, to send a despatch to Paris abusing the war-party leaders and advising the French nation to deliver itself from its influence. Such an uncalled-for interference of Austria in the affairs of France added fuel to the fire. 'La Marseillaise' was composed and began to be sung by crowds of Frenchmen. The Girondists came into office and began to direct the war-affairs of France. Meanwhile Leopold had died, and his successor Francis II, under the influence of the anti-revolutionary party, now sent an imperial force towards the frontier. So the Assembly, in spite of the opposition of Robespierre and the leading Jacobins declared war against Austria (April 1792). An attack on Belgium by the French army, however, failed, and they were defeated by the Austrians combined with the Prussians.

Failure of
the French
troops.

Again, the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, threatening Paris with military execution in case of any harm to the royal family of France roused the French to the greatest fury; people began to suspect the king in league with foreign despots, and on Aug. 10, 1792 a mob, which had failed to carry out an insurrection formerly in June, marched against the Tuileries, the royal palace. Louis took shelter with the Assembly which was now at the mercy of the mob of Paris. The king was suspended and National Convention was summoned to revise the constitution; and Robespierre and Danton became the guiding spirits of the Commune of Paris which usurped all the functions of the government. Thus the insurrection of Aug. 10, 1792 marks the fall of the Monarchy in France.

The
manifesto
of the
Duke of
Brunswick
revived
hostility to
the crown.

Invasion
of the
Tuileries
and the
insurrection
of Aug. 10,
1792 :
Suspension
of
Louis XVI.

Taking advantage of the disorders in Paris,

Prussian
advance to
Verdun.

The
September
Massacres.

Battle of
Valmy,
Sept. 20,
1792.

the Prussians advanced and took *Verdun* which caused great excitement. The *Jacobins* now undertook the defence of the country out of the hands of the Assembly, and to paralyse the reactionary party in Paris committed frightful atrocities known as the '*September Massacres*.' The war, however, had now become a war of defence and the Republican French recruits defeated the Prussians at *Valmy* in spite of their brisk cannonading. This French victory decided the campaign and the allies retreated.

CHAPTER II.

The First Republic in France.

A. The National Convention (Sept. 21, 1792—Oct. 26, 1796):

Character of the Convention and its First Measures :

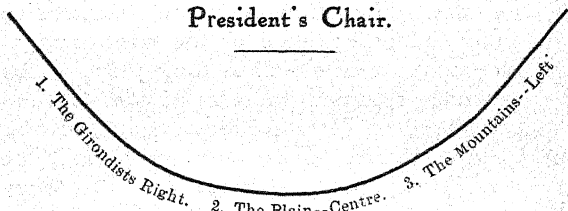
On the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly in consequence of the overthrow of the Monarchy, new elections took place. The *Departments* returned mostly *Girondists*, and the *Commune of Paris* elected chiefly *Jacobins* (or the *Mountains*). This new assembly, the *National Convention*, met (Sept. 21, 1792) when the enemies of France were knocking at her gates. Since its first meeting, an irreconcilable hostility broke out between the *Girondists* and the *Mountains*. The *Girondists* who were as a body learned, brilliant, and eloquent, wished to form an orderly government and to found the Republic on the political virtue and public spirit of the mass, by securing their own supremacy after breaking the power of the Paris mob and the *Communes* which had cast a bloody stain on the sacred name of 'Liberty'. The *Mountains* (so called from the top benches they occupied in the left), who were fierce and restless, hoped to found the Republic on the active support of the mob and were eager to sacrifice 'Liberty' to save France from the foreigners. Hence the *Girondists* were now the party of moderation

Parties
in the
Convention.

Quarrels
between the
Girondists
and the
Mountains.

and order in the Convention, and occupied the *right* side while the *Mountains* sat on the *left* of the Assembly. The *Girondists* had as their leaders Vergniaud, Brissot, Roland and others, and the leaders of the *Mountains* were Rebespierre, Danton, Marat and others. The deputies sitting in the *centre*, called the *Plain*, followed a temporising policy between the above two parties and voted with the one or the other. The *Constitutional royalists* had now no place in this Assembly.

President's Chair.



Establishment of the Republic.

The first act of the Convention was to declare France a Republic. A decree was passed asking all officers to be re-elected, and all unrepealed laws were allowed to stand. A committee was next appointed to consider a new constitution.

Foreign policy of the Convention :

French attempt to spread Revolutionary propaganda in other countries,

The French victory over the Prussians at *Valmy* followed by a repulse of the Austrians from the walls of *Lill * saved France from immediate chances of invasion from without. The French now desired to spread the principles of the Revolution far beyond the frontiers of France in order to effect a general rising of the *People* in the European countries against the

Kings. In their desire to fight the battle of European freedom, the Convention issued a proclamation offering assistance to all discontented subjects of various governments who were desirous of securing their freedom. France now adopted a policy of aggression and her armies occupied Savoy and Nice, invaded Saxony, advanced to the Rhine, and conquered the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) at the battle of *Jemmappes*. The passing of a new decree by the Convention (Dec. 1792) compelling all territories occupied by the French to accept the French republican system of government alarmed all Europe. The Convention had also ordered the free navigation of the Scheldt which by an European arrangement was closed to commerce. This infringed the rights of England's allies and, combined with other causes, changed the attitude of England towards the Revolution into a bitter hatred.

French
aggressions
in Savoy and
Germany :
conquest of
Belgium.

Execution of Louis XVI, and the Fall of the Girondists :

The *Girondists*, though nominally holding office, could not however assert themselves before the *Mountains* whose vehement spirit really guided the foreign policy of the Convention. The *Mountains* had made the wars a 'crusade of democracy', and they now demanded the trial of king Louis XVI, a prisoner since the fall of the Monarchy. For fear of a civil war with the *Mountains*, the *Girondists* joined with them, tried the king, and voted for his death. On Jan. 21, 1793, Louis XVI was guillotined. 'Let us,' said Danton, 'cast down before Europe, as the

Trial and
execution
of Louis,
Jan. 21,
1793.

gauntlet of battle, the head of a king,' and the gauntlet was actually taken up by the European Powers.

Result
of the
execution—
formation
of the
European
coalition
against
France.

The execution of the king hastened the rupture with England, and the Convention declared war upon England and Holland (Feb. 1793). The English minister, **Pitt the Younger**, departed from his pacific policy and was powerfully supported by Burke who now formally deserted the Whigs. The First European coalition was formed against France, which was joined by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, and afterwards by Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Papal states, and Naples. On March 21, 1793, the French were defeated at *Neerwinden*; their general *Damouriez*, desirous of restoring the Monarchy, deserted to the Austrians.

Renewal
of party
conflicts
in Paris.

The defeat and treason of *Damouriez* increased the party-struggle at Paris, and the *Girondists* and the *Mountains* tried to accuse each other of being the traitor's accomplices. Marat began to instigate the mob against the *Girondists* whose heads were demanded. At the same time, the revolt of the peasants of La Vendée against the revolutionary government broke out, and the Austrians and the English were attacking the northern frontier of France. Placed between two fires, a *Committee of Public Safety* consisting of nine members was appointed (April 6, 1793) with dictatorial power to supervise over the administration. The *Girondists* accused Marat before the revolutionary tribunal but he was acquitted amidst the applause of the mob. Robespierre and Danton were also alienated and they also directed the popular fury against the *Girondist* leaders. At last on May 31, 1793 an angry mob invaded the

Rising in
La Vendée.

Creation
of the
Committee
of Public
Safety.

Convention and two days later, thirty-one leading members of the *Girondists* were arrested. The victory of the *Mountains* thus became complete.

Fall of the
Gironde,
June 2, 1793.

**The Reign of Terror (June, 2, 1793—
July 27, 1764) :**

The fall of the *Girondists* made the situation in France dangerous. The *Royalists* in Lyons and Toulon held out and the revolt in La Vendée became formidable. Most of the imprisoned deputies escaped and incited the *Departments* to take up arms against the tyrannical supremacy of Paris. France was thus in the midst of a civil war. A young Norman girl, Charlotte Corday, an admirer of the Girondist ideal of Republic, murdered blood-thirsty Marat, the atrocious enemy of the *Girondists*. To add to the difficulties of the situation the English and the Austrians took Condé and Valenciennes, Prussia recovered the territories captured by France in Germany, Spain defeated France at the Pyrenees, the Piedmontese invaded France from the Alps border, and England declared the blockade of the French ports.

Provincial
revolts.

Murder
of Marat.

Military
reverses of
the French.

**(a) The Great Committee of Public Safety
and its Measures :**

Meanwhile, the *Mountains* under the leadership of Robespierre, Carnot &c. had created the *Great Committee of Public Safety*, with twelve members, which became the ruling power in the state. To meet the external dangers, the committee raised a compulsory loan from the rich, decreed a *Levie en masse* or general

(a) Measures
to prosecute
the war
vigorously.

(b) Measures
to suppress
the anti-
revolutionary
elements :

Execution
of Marie
Antoinette,
Oct. 16,
1793.

(c) Measures
to sweep
away the
Royalist
institutions.

conscription and entrusted Carnot, with the control of the war: the English general Duke of York was forced to raise the siege of Dunkirk after a French victory at *Hondschoote*, while the Austrians who had taken Le Quesnoy were defeated by the French at *Wattignies* (Sept. 1793); the French next forced the invaders to retire on the Rhine. The internal rebellions were also suppressed during the year at Lyons and other *Departments*; Toulon surrendered to Napoleon Bonaparte; the army of La Vendée was defeated and its people were given up to a military execution. To meet the anti-revolutionary elements in the state two laws were passed; by the '*Law of Suspects*' those who in any way favoured the Monarchy, or federalism were to be imprisoned until the peace, while the '*Law of Maximum*' fixed the prices of corn and other necessities of life to avert the famine and made the hoarding of provisions punishable with death. A 'Revolutionary tribunal' was also set up to try and speedily despatch the 'suspects', who were being imprisoned in large numbers. The bloody work was begun and about 3000 persons were guillotined, including the captive queen Marie Antoinette, the 21 deputies of the *Girondists* with Vergniaud at their head, the despicable Duke of Orleans, and Madame Roland the inspirer of the *Girondists*, in the midst of the delightful ejaculations of the '*Vive la Republique*' by the mob. To complete the separation with the Royalist past, the old Christian calendar was abolished and a new revolutionary calendar instituted, with new names for the months according to the divisions of the seasons in the year (e.g. Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor indicating the summer

months and corresponding to June, July, August of the Christian calendar &c.) and the era beginning from Sept. 22, 1792, the date of the birth of the new Republic.

(b) *The Split in the Mountains :*

But such a 'Rule of Terror' could not long satisfy the party of the Terror itself, and a split of the *Mountains*, became inevitable in the autumn of 1793. The *Dantonists* did not think it necessary to shed any further blood when the country was saved from foreign and domestic foes ; the *Hebertists* (the party of Marat), the most radical section of the *Mountains*, despised Catholicism as aristocratic, denied the existence of a personal God and the immortality of the soul, and wanted to introduce a worship of Reason ; the *party of Robespierre* and his young follower St. Just, however, steered a middle course between them. Robespierre, still supreme in the *Jacobin Club* and the *Great Committee of Public Safety*, first allied with the *Dantonists* and got Hebert and his associates arrested and executed for their irreligious excesses (March, 1794) ; Danton and his friends were next sent to prison for their moderation (April, 1794).

The Mountains divided into the three parties of Danton, Hebert, and Robespierre. Inauguration of the worship of Reason, Nov. 10, 1793. Fall of Hebert and Danton—Robespierre's triumph.

(c) *Fall of Robespierre, and an Estimate of him :*

Robespierre was now supreme, and the *Great Committee of Public Safety* began to exercise dictatorial powers. The 'Reign of Terror' continued with increasing severity, and Terror was reduced to a system. Robespierre now sought to assert the necessity of spiritual

Introduction of the worship of the Supreme Being.

Culmination
of the
Terror at
Paris and
in the
provinces.

Opposition
to Robes-
pierre, his
arrest and
execution.

Estimate of
Robespierre.

belief in place of the worship of Reason, and under his inspiration the Convention decreed that the French recognised a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul, (June 7, 1794). Immediately after, the Revolutionary tribunal was re-organised, and Robespierre induced the Convention to pass an infamous law on June 10, 1794 by which no proof was required to punish a man with death except a 'moral' conviction of the jurors and no punishment could be inflicted by the court except death. Soon the weight of the Reign of Terror became intolerable and in course of seven weeks thirteen hundred and seventy-six persons were guillotined at Paris and upwards of five thousand in the provinces. An opposition to Robespierre was organised. On the 9th of Thermidor (July 27, 1794) Robespierre and his adherents were arrested under a decree of the Convention and executed the next day.

Historians differ on their estimate of Robespierre. Some paint him in the blackest colour and associate him with the worst excesses of the Revolution, while others sing their panegyrics on him. To be just, we must unhesitatingly say, though a man of modicre abilities possessing a shallow intellect and a narrow mind, Robespierre had a vast design in life—'the reign of Reason by the medium of democracy.' For this reason he struggled hard sacrificing his youth, his legal profession, his repose, his happiness, and even his life. For his honesty and thirst after the Truth he gained the admiration of all. Though not endowed with the statesman-like capacity of Mirabeau or the practical instincts of Danton, Robespierre was certainly a better man than Marat, Hebert &c..

and in certain respects than Danton even. Schooled in the doctrines of Rousseau and "intoxicated with the perspective of public felicity," he "desired to extirpate, with the iron blade, all the ill-growing roots of the social soil" and thus allowed his name to be identified with the 'Reign of Terror.' He did not desire evil, and yet accepted it. He "opened the veins of the social body to cure the disease" and hence he failed. Lamartine in his *History of the Girondists* remarks that in this revolutionary age in France 'men were born like the instantaneous personification of things which should think, speak, or act: Voltaire, good sense; Rousseau, the ideal; Condorcet, calculation; Mirabeau, impetuosity; Vergniaud, impulse; Danton, audacity; Marat, fury; Madame Roland, enthusiasm; Charlotte, vengeance; Robespierre, Utopia; Saint-Just, the fanaticism of the Revolution."

Reason of
his failure.

The Thermidorian Reaction (July 27, 1794—Oct. 26, 1795):

(a) *The Reaction*—With the fall of Robespierre began a reaction in favour of peace and order, not so much because he had created it, as because there was simple outburst of human feelings after a year of frightful atrocities. Every class of the French people, except the starving city mob, now longed for security and quiet routine of life. The *Great Committee of Public Safety* came into contempt and its functions were restricted; the Revolutionary tribunal was suspended; the Law of Maximum was abolished and the *Jacobin club* was suspended (Dec. 1794). The Convention restored the liberty of the press, granted amnesty

of Reaction
against the
Terror.

to the Vendéans, and allowed the expelled *Girondists* to return to their seats in the Convention. The Convention now began to rule in accordance with the moderate opinion of the majority of the public.

French
victories
and
conquests
in 1794.

Peace of
Basel,
1795.

Rising
of the
Royalists in
Paris
suppressed
by
Napoleon
Bonaparte.

(b) *French success in the war*—A change had also come in the military history of France. Since the entrustment of the war to Carnot, the revolutionary army had been able to carry the war into enemy's territory. Prussia had withdrawn from the war to look after her own interests in Poland, and the Austrians being defeated by the French general Jourdan at *Fleuras* (1794) Belgium was occupied by France. French general Pichegru conquered Holland; on the side of Piedmont and the Pyreneese the French were also successful. Thus by the year 1794, besides Savoy and Nice, France conquered Belgium, Holland, Germany left of the Rhine, a part of Piedmont, and Northern Spain. These victories led to the disruption of the coalition of the Powers, and as the Thermidorians had no mind to continue the war any further, Prussia, Spain, and other states except England and Austria concluded peace with France at *Basel* (1795) on such terms as they could obtain.

(c) *Completion of the constitution*—Meanwhile, the Convention drew up a new constitution, which task remained neglected since it had been summoned. The Executive was made independent of the Legislature. The Legislature was to consist of two chambers—(1) Council of Ancients of 250 members over 40 years of age, (2) Council of Five Hundred—one-third of whose members to be elected every year. The Executive was entrusted in the hands of five Directors elected by the Ancients out of a list

drawn up by the Five Hundred—one to retire each year and the new one to be elected by the Legislature ; the Directors to have no seats in the Legislative assemblies. This constitution of the Year III, as it was called, was generally accepted save by the Royalists who made a new rising in Paris ; but the skill and iron resolution of a young artillery officer, Napoleon Bonaparte, overcame their resistance. On Oct. 26, 1795, the Convention was dissolved and the new constitution came into operation.

B. The Directory (1795-99) :

Its Domestic Administration :

In Oct. 1795, the five Directors, most of whom were honest republicans and men of character, came into office. They tried to set at right the credit of the state by issuing a new paper-money representing a fixed amount of public-lands, called '*Territorial Mandates*,' in order to replace the *Assignats* which had no value. Agriculture and industry were revived ; the *Commune of Paris* was abolished and order and peace were restored within France.

Its War Policy :

To signalise its accession to power, the Directory extended the foreign wars of the Republic. Carnôt, one of the Directors, planned a grand attack on Austria, one of the two remaining enemies of France. Three young generals Jourdan, Moreau, and Napoleon were directed to invade Vienna, the Austrian capital, and Italy.

Early Career of Napoleon, and his Campaign in Italy :

Napoleon's
early
military
campaigns.

Born in Corsica (Aug. 15, 1769), shortly after the annexation of that island to France, Napoleon became a French citizen. Educated at the military school of Paris, he joined the Army at the age of 17, and within 9 years distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon. As commander of artillery, he made France mistress of the Alps (1794), and gained special distinctions crushing the royalist insurrection of the 13th Vendemiaire (Oct. 5, 1795) by his able volleys of grape-shots. He was next made commander-in-chief of the Army of the Interior and his career for talent was opened.

His
campaign
in Italy.

Sent by Carnot to attack Italy (1796) he had to face an army of the enemy twice as large of his own. Encouraging his own soldiers, he quickly reached Turin and forced her to sue for an armistice ; Savoy and Nice were surrendered to France by the king of Sardinia. He then drove the Austrians out of Lombardy after the hard-fought battle of *Lodi*, Venice was conquered, the English were dislodged from Leghorn and Corsica, and Mantua was besieged by Napoleon. The Austrians tried their best to recover their position but were repeatedly defeated at *Bassano*, *Arcola*, *Rivoli*, and *Corona*. *Mantua* fell and the Austrian general Wurmser capitulated. The feeble Pope, Pius VI, agreed to pay a heavy subsidy and to cede Avignon to France. Napoleon, now master of whole Italy, marched on Vienna because Jourdan and Moreau had failed in their Austrian campaigns. He crossed the Alps,

drove the Austrian Emperor's son from his defences, and the Emperor Francis II in a panic concluded the *Peace of Campo-Formio* (1797), by which Austria ceded Belgium to France, recognised the Cisalpine and the Ligurian Republics in Italy, which had been created by Napoleon out of Lombardy and Genoa and dependent on France, and obtained in exchange Venice and her territories in Istria and Dalmatia which had been conquered by France during the war.

Peace of
Campo-
Formio,
1797.

Napoleon now on his return to France came to be regarded as a hero by the Frenchmen, and became the central figure in European politics.

Napoleon and the Coup-de'tat of Fructidor :

At home, a royalist reaction had begun against the Directory, and Napoleon's treatment of Venice and Genoa was being questioned in the Chambers. Napoleon sent his general Augereau to crush the royalist faction by the *Coup-de'tat* of 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4, 1797). One Director was arrested and another, Carnot, fled ; some members of the councils were exiled ; liberty of press was suspended and the party of the '*ancien regime*' was crushed for ever ; the Directory thus became supreme.

Coup-dé-tat
of the 18th
Fructidor.

Napoleon's Expedition to Egypt :

The Directory had been able to humble all the enemies of France except England, and it now sanctioned the plan of Napoleon to attack England in Egypt—the key to the East—and thus to destroy her commerce. In May, 1798, Napoleon sailed from Toulon, occupied Malta,

Bonaparte's
Egyptian
campaign.

escaped the English fleet under Nelson, captured Alexandria, and won the *battle of the Pyramids* which made him master of the basin of the Nile. But his dream of a permanent occupation of the country vanished with the destruction of the French fleet by the English Admiral Nelson at the *battle of the Nile* which entirely cut off Napoleon and his whole army from Europe. He then planned the siege of Acre, but having failed returned to France.

The Second European Coalition, and the Overthrow of the Directory by Napoleon :

The second coalition against France.

French disasters in 1799.

Discontent in France.

Napoleon's return from Egypt.

During Napoleon's absence in Egypt, a second formidable coalition of European Powers had been formed against France. Turkey whose province of Egypt had been attacked, had entered into alliance with England, and Austria and Russia backed by English gold had renewed the war. The French defeat at *Novi* led to the loss of Italy, and Malta was blockaded by the English (1799). The plan of the Austro-Russians upon France was though foiled by Massena at *Zurich*, France could not maintain her victorious position on the continent.

The Directory became discredited at home for its feeble foreign policy, and want of harmony was noticeable in it as well as in the councils. Abbé Sieyes, the leader of the moderate republicans, was now on the look-out for a general who would protect the Republic without being its oppressor, and when Napoleon returned from Egypt he was welcomed with delight in France. Napoleon came to an understanding with Sieyes and carried out the *Coup d'état* of 18th Brumaire (Nov. 9, 1799) as a

result of which the Directory was suppressed, the council of Five Hundred ejected and a provisional Consulate consisting of Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Ducas was appointed to revise the constitution and to conduct the government. *The Revolution now passed into its last phase.*

Coupd'état
of the 18th
Brumaire.

C. The Consulate (Nov. 1799—May 1804):

Constitution of the Year VIII :

The provisional *Consulate* of three men now took up the task of determining the form of government ; and Sieyes ably drew up a constitution which gave France the needed strong Executive.

Constitution
of the
Year VIII,
as framed
by the
provisional
Consulate.

(a) The *Executive* was entrusted to three Consuls appointed by the Senate for ten years, of whom the First Consul was to have the power of making peace and war, of appointing ministers, ambassadors, and other officers, as well as of promulgating laws ; the Second and Third Consuls to have a mere "consultative voice" ;

(b) A *Council of State*, named by the First Consul, was to draft all laws to be presented to a *Tribunate* of 100 members for mere discussion but not for alteration or rejection ; a *Legislative Body* of 300 men was to finally adopt or reject the laws by a secret ballot without any debate ; The *Senate* of 80 life-members was to annul or confirm the measures referred to it by the Tribunate or the Government, and to choose the Legislators, the Tribunes, and the Consuls from the "national list".

(c) The *Electoral system* was based on the

principle of universal suffrage. The whole adult male population was to elect 500,000 men forming the 'Communal list'; these to choose 50,000, who formed the "departmental list"; and these again to elect 5000, forming the "national list" to fill up the services in the government and the legislature.

Defects
in the
constitution.

The Legislature being divided into two Chambers,—the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body*—none possessing the right of initiation but both being hemmed in by the Council of State and the conservative Senate, its power was almost nil. Moreover none of these two chambers had any popular foundation: the Senate created itself, and the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body* were mere creations of the Senate. On the other hand, the Executive was strongly organised, and all real authority being concentrated in a single man, it turned out to be the despotism of the one in a decent disguise.

Establish-
ment of the
Consulate.

[N. B. This constitution came into operation from the X'mas day of 1799 with Napoleon as the First Consul, and Cambaceres and Lebrun the Second and Third Consuls.]

Internal Administration :

Internal
government
of France
under the
Consulate.

Napoleon, while treating sympathetically with all elements hostile to him and the Republic, steadily began to centralise the authority of the First Consul. He founded five separate tribunals to interfere with the course of ordinary justice, purged the *Tribunate* and the *Legislative Body* of elements hostile to his despotic measures. The Districts were replaced by *Arrondissements* with larger areas, and many smaller Communes revived, while

the Departments were preserved. The duty of administration was confined to the prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors in the departments, the *arrondissements*, and *communes*, all these posts being filled by the nominees of the First Consul. Thus all autonomy disappeared. Again, by the *Concordat* of 1801 signed between the Pope and the First Consul, the schism in the Church created by the Civil constitution of the Clergy was removed. Catholicism again became the state-religion in France and Napoleon made a political use of it by subordinating the clergy to the state, who became its willing vassals. Recon-
ciliation with the Church.

The admirable '*Codé Napoleon*' cast the civil laws of France into systematic form, which henceforth became the basis of the civic rights of the French. It came into operation from 1805. The Civil Code.

By a *plebiscite* (May, 1802) Napoleon was elected First Consul for life with power to nominate his successor. The powers of the *Senate* were increased by the Constitution of Year X (Aug, 1802) but it could not henceforth meet without the summons of the First Consul, and the *Tribunate* lost its importance.

A 'Legion of Honour' of 6000 members, civilians and soldiers, was founded with the First Consul at its head, forming the basis of a new aristocracy.

Primary instruction was left in the hands of Education. the *Communes* ; secondary instruction was prompted and six law schools and a military academy was established. Study of living languages and of history and philosophy were suppressed, as incompatible with despotism.

Foreign Relations :

Despotism
of Napoleon.

Thus administration, law and justice being remodelled after his will, the church and education being controlled, and himself being elected the First Consul for life, and a new body of official aristocracy devoted to him being formed, Napoleon became a despotic monarch though not in name.

Renewal of
hostilities
against
Austria and
England.

In spite of his pacific assurances at the commencement of the Consulate, circumstances led Bonaparte to resume hostilities against Austria and England. The English minister, Pitt the Younger, refused to make peace with France until she withdrew within her former frontiers and reestablished the ancient monarchy; Austria also declined to come to an understanding on the basis of the treaty of Campo-Formio. So Napoleon sent Moreau to invade Austria, and himself proceeded to conquer the Austrian possessions in Italy.

(a) *Napoleon's Italian Campaign (1800) :*

Campaign
of 1800 :
battle of
Marengo.

After a successful march through the Great St. Bernard's pass he crushed the Austrian army at *Marengo*. This victory gave him the command of all the upper valley of the Po.

Peace of
Luneville.

Moreau on the other hand inflicted a crushing defeat on the Austrians at *Hohenlinden*, and threatened Vienna. The Emperor was compelled to make the *Peace of Luneville* (Feb. 1801) by which France secured the left bank of the Rhine and recovered her old Italian possessions ; the independence of the Batavian and Helvetic Republics were recognised ; Tuscany was transferred to the Duke of Parma ; and the

minor German states were placed at the mercy of the French Republic.

(b) Napoleon's Plans against England :

After the Peace of Luneville, England alone stood out against the First Consul. Now, Czar Paul I of Russia, angry at the refusal of England to surrender Malta to the Knights of the Hospitallers, also revived the *Armed Neutrality of the Northern Powers* (originally formed by Catharine II of Russia and Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1780) and was joined by Sweden, Denmark and Prussia to resist by force English interference with commerce. Napoleon was also invited to join it. England, to maintain her maritime supremacy sent Nelson to the Baltic who by a successful *bombardment of Copenhagen* compelled Denmark to withdraw from the league. The death of Paul I, however, led to the dissolution of the 'Armed Neutrality' (July 1801) and the Northern Powers became again friends of England.

The only obstacle in the way of peace between France and England was the war in Egypt. The English victory of Abercromby at *Aboukir*, the surrender of the French garrison at *Cairo*, and the evacuation of Egypt by the French (Sept. 1801) removed that obstacle. The *Peace of Amiens* was now concluded (March, 1802) between England and France, by which France agreed to evacuate Naples, and the Papal States ; Egypt to revert to the Porte, Malta to the Knights of St. John ; and England to restore all conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon. But this was a mere truce, and war broke out between them about the possession of Malta (1803).

Napoleon's
depotism
on the
continent.

Meanwhile, during the interval of peace, Napoleon began to follow an aggressive policy on the continent as may be seen from his annexations of the island of Elba, Piedmont, Parma and Piacenza. He also secularised the clerical states of Germany and suppressed 14 Free cities of the Empire ; the Helvetic Republic was replaced by a Swiss confederation of 19 cantons, each enjoying sovereign power and equal rights without any right to conclude alliances with foreign powers or amongst themselves. The natural consequence of this policy of Napoleon was the renewal of the war with England and Europe.

Napoleon proclaimed Emperor :

The renewal of the English war supplied opportunities to the Royalists for a Bourbon restoration. A plot for overthrowing Bonaparte was concerted by Georges Cadoudal, General Pichegru—the renegade general of the Republic' &c. but it being discovered they were arrested and condemned to death. Not satisfied with it Bonaparte, with his Corsican spirit of revenge became eager to spill the blood of the family supposed to aim at his life and power, and Duke of Enghien, son of the Prince Condé, a Bourbon, was arrested in Germany and after a hasty trial was shot. All Europe stood aghast at this blackest deed—a guilt for which Napoleon can hardly be excused.

Murder of
Duke of
Enghien.

Napoleon
declared
Emperor of
the French.

Bonaparte however profited out of the plot by attaining his grand design : the *Tribunate* and the *Senate* proclaimed him Emperor of the French (May 18, 1804) and hereditary succession was affirmed. All forms of republican equality now vanished.

CHAPTER III.

Europe in the Napoleonic Regime.

The Empire in France (1804-15) :

Napoleon and the Administrative Organs of the Empire :

The French Republic being now changed into a monarchy, all authority became vested in the Emperor. The *Senate*, though next in authority, was practically subservient to the Emperor. The *Tribunate* gradually vanished (1807). The *Legislative body* was to discuss legislative proposals in close committees only. The importance of the *Council of State* increased and it was presided over either by the Emperor himself or by a Grand Dignitary, usually the Arch-Chancellor Cambacères or the Arch-Treasurer Lebrun.

The first Empire and its constitution.

Napoleon and the Sister-Republics :

The so-called 'freedom' of the sister-republics was suppressed. The Batavian Republic changed itself into the kingdom of Holland and accepted Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, as king ; the Cisalpine Republic became the kingdom of Italy and Napoleon became its king (May, 1805). The Ligurian Republic was incorporated into France, and Lucca was formed into a principality for Napoleon's sister Elisa and her husband.

The sister Republics became kingdoms.

Renewal of War with England, and the Third European Coalition :

The war between England and France was renewed in May, 1803 on the refusal of England to evacuate Malta to the Knights of St. John, as arranged by the Peace of Amiens, for England considered the retention of Malta necessary to check French ambition in Egypt and in Greece. Bonaparte occupied Hanover and Naples, threatened to invade England, and compelled Spain to join him. England also enlisted 300,000 volunteers for defence and her Prime Minister, Pitt the Younger, formed the Third European coalition of Russia, Austria, and Sweden (April 1805), against France, promising to pay an annual subsidy to the members of the coalition. Prussia only remained neutral.

Formation
of the third
coalition
against
France.

Campaign
of 1805—

Trafalgar ;

Meanwhile the combined fleets of France and Spain under the French Admiral Villeneuve were defeated off *Cape Finistere* by an English fleet under Admiral Calder and took shelter at Cadiz. But when they again put to the sea, another English fleet under Admiral Nelson defeated and destroyed them off *Trafalgar* (Oct. 21, 1805). In the hour of triumph Nelson was killed. But he saved England from the danger of French invasion by utterly destroying the maritime power of France. England henceforth remained the mistress of the sea and began obstinately to resist French ambition on the continent.

Napoleon's attack upon Austria :

On receiving the news of the Third coalition, Napoleon's Grand Army entered Germany, pushed on as far as Vienna, and completely

Austerlitz.

defeated the Austrians and Russians at *Austrelitz*. (Dec. 2. 1805). This victory of Napoleon was a fatal blow to the coalition. By the *Treaty of Pressburg* with Austria, France obtained Venice ^{Treaty of Pressburg.} which became incorporated with Italy, and Tyrol was ceded to Bavaria, whose ruler as well as of Wurtemberg received the title of king.

Napoleon's Policy in Germany, and the Confederation of the Rhine :

Napoleon now planned to dissolve the Empire and to form a confederation of the lesser states of Germany under the protection of France, excluding the two great Powers, *viz.* Austria and Prussia, from leadership in Germany. In July 1806, Baden, Bavaria, Wurtemberg. Hesse-Darmstadt, Berg, and nine other smaller states were formed into the *Confederation of the Rhine* under the protectorate of France ; the federal Diet was arranged to meet at Frankfort. The knights and the lesser tenants-in-chief of the empire were not recognised, and their states were absorbed in the larger provinces in which they were situated. Napoleon was declared Protector, and the Confederation and the French Empire became bound by an alliance to assist each other in any continental war. ^{The Confederation of the Rhine.}

The imperial dignity was then formally resigned by Emperor Francis II, who henceforth became Francis I, Emperor of Austria. ^{End of the Holy Roman Empire.} Thus the *Holy Roman Empire* came finally to an end, after an existence of more than thousand years, (Aug. 6, 1806).

Napoleon's War with Prussia :

Since the treaty of Basle in 1795, Prussia

Prussia's
quarrels
with France.

had been neutral but after Napoleon's brilliant victory of Austrelitz, she entered into an alliance with France, by which Napoleon agreed to make over Hanover to her. When Napoleon however, in order to bring the war with England to a close, began to make pacific overtures with Fox, the English minister (since the death of Pitt), on condition of restoring Hanover to England, Prussia grew indignant and declared war against France.

Battles of
Jena and
Aurestadt.

In 1806 Napoleon annihilated two Prussian armies at the battles of *Jena* and *Aurestadt*, and then entered Berlin. The Prussian king fled to East Prussia hoping to continue the war with Russian help.

Napoleon's Campaigns against Russia :

Napoleon's
campaign
in East
Prussia
against
Russia.

The triumphant French Emperor, now marched on to humiliate Czar Alexander I of Russia, the presumptuous ally of Prussia. Though he had to face the armed resistance of the Russians at *Eylan*, he completely defeated the Russians at *Friedland* in East Prussia and took *Konigsberg*. The lukewarm support of England during the Grenville ministry and the inaction of Austria led the Czar to come to terms. By the *Treaty of Tilsit* (1807), Prussia was deprived of her territories west of the Elbe, and of the Polish provinces which she had annexed in course of the Partitions of Poland. The provinces west of the Elbe together with Hesse-Cassel and Brunswick were formed into a new kingdom of Westphalia for Napoleon's brother Jerome ; Prussian Poland was included in the Grand Duchy of Warsaw under the rule of the king of Saxony ; the district of Bialystock was given to Russia ; Danzig with its surround-

Treaty of
Tilsit.

Collapse of
Prussia.

Napoleon's
re-construct-
ion of
Europe.

ing ten miles was made a free city under the joint-protectorate of Prussia and Saxony. Russia recognised these arrangements as well as Napoleon's previous creations in Europe *viz.* the Confederation of the Rhine, the kingdoms of Italy, Naples, and Holland, and also agreed to mediate between France and England. This treaty of peace was supplemented by a secret alliance between Napoleon and the Czar, by which they combined to dominate Europe, the former exercising supremacy in the West and the latter in the East. *The Peace of Tilsit thus marked the zenith of Napoleon's career.*

Napoleon
at the
height of
his glory.

Napoleon's Continental System, and its Effects :

Since the defeat of the French Navy at Trafalgar, Napoleon, hopeless of overpowering Britain at sea, determined to humble her by waging a commercial war. While at Berlin after his victory at Jena, he issued a decree, on Nov. 21, 1806, declaring the British isles to be in a state of blockade, ordering British merchandise to be seized and confiscated, and forbidding the allies of France to carry on any trade with Great Britain. The British government also issued four successive retaliatory Orders in Council (Jan-Nov. 1807) by which, all vessels were forbidden to trade with ports belonging to France or her allies, those were declared as lawful prizes of war which attempted to enter enemies' ports without previously touching at a British harbour, and reprisals were authorised against those countries which had seized English property. To this Napoleon replied by the *Milan Decree* (Dec. 17, 1807), which declared any ship of what-

Napoleon's
issue of the
Berlin
Decree,
(1806):

Milan
Decree
issued,
(1807):

The two
decrees
constituted
the
'Continental
System'.

ever nation, if touched at any British port, liable to be counted as a good prize if taken by a French warship or privateer. These, 'Berlin and Milan Decrees' together constituted Napoleon's 'Continental System'.

Effects of the
'Continental
System':

It could not however ruin England commercially as much as Napoleon had expected, although it inflicted upon her industrial population some amount of suffering and loss by cutting off the supply of raw materials. The prices of the necessities of life like sugar, wheat, coffee &c. rose enormously in all the countries and misery and famine threatened the labourers and the poorer classes. As England supplied the cheap necessities of life to Europe, the seizure and destruction of British goods led to a gigantic system of smuggling throughout the continent. The Continental System however proved most ruinous to France herself. It not only annihilated the French shipping (except in the Mediterranean) but also created a strong feeling of opposition of the allies or the conquered people of the French Empire to Napoleon. It was really a mistake of Napoleon to expect that the subjects or allies of France would sacrifice their material interests to satisfy his vengeance on a single nation. *The Continental System thus may fairly be regarded as the beginning of the collapse of the Napoleonic Empire.*

Beginning
of
Napoleon's
downfall.

The Peninsular War (1807-13) :

After his return from Tilsit to France Napoleon sent an army under Marshal Junot to invade Portugal as she had declined to close her ports to British commerce. Junot entered into a *Treaty at Fontainebleau* (1807) with the Spanish minister, Godoy, to make a joint attack

on Portugal and to partition out that kingdom, one part of which was to be given to Godoy and another part to be annexed to France. Junot then entered Lisbon and occupied almost the whole of Portugal, whose royal family fled to Brazil; but Godoy was not given his promised reward.

French
occupation
of Portugal.

Meanwhile, dissensions in the Spanish court prepared the way for French interference in Spain.

Intervention
in Spain.

Ferdinand, the heir to the Spanish throne bitterly despised his father, the weak king Charles IV, and his all powerful minister, Godoy, who lived in guilty intimacy with the queen.

Taking advantage of a quarrel between the king and his son Ferdinand, Napoleon invited them

Deposition
of the
Bourbons.

to France to place their case before him and forced them both to abdicate in favour of his

brother Joseph Bonaparte (1808). Godoy whose wicked rule had ruined Spain, and whose

cowardly and obsequious policy had led to far deeper humiliation of the realm by allowing the

French troops under Dupont to enter Spain, fled from the capital to save himself from the Spanish

mob and retired into obscurity. With the abdication of the Bourbon family, the patriotic

Popular
risings
in Spain.

Spaniards in many provinces armed themselves against the foreign usurper and began a guerilla

warfare against him, and Joseph had to fly from Madrid.

(a) The French general Moncey was repulsed at Valencia and General Dupont capitulated at Baylen. (b) England now began to interfere in the Spanish affairs, and in Portugal

English
intervention
in Portugal
and Spain.

English general Sir Arthur Wellesley won a victory over the French at Vimiera and Junot

was allowed by the Convention of Cintra to evacuate Portugal and to return to France. (c)

Sir John
Moore's
retreat to
Corunna.

Duke of
Wellington's
campaigns
in Portugal
and Spain.

In Nov. 1808, Napoleon himself proceeded to Spain, marched upon Madrid after four weeks' campaign and restored Joseph. (d) Sir John Moore, the British general who from the West had advanced as far as Salamanca, was driven back by Marshal Soult, and after the battle of *Corunna* (1809) in which Moore lost his life, the English withdrew from Spain. Soult now invaded Portugal and occupied Oporto. (e) Wellesley, who had been again sent to Portugal, drove Soult from Oporto, and gained a victory over the French at *Talavera*: but he had to retreat to Portugal. Wellesley now received the title of Duke of Wellington. (f) In 1810 Napoleon sent his best general, Marshal Massena, to drive the English out of Portugal. Wellington formed the *Lines of Torres Vedras*, a double series of fortifications, and though repulsed Massena for some time at *Busaco*, he had to retreat before his superior numbers. (g) Between 1811-12, Wellington, with fresh supplies from England, undertook his famous campaigns of *Feuentes d' Onoro*, *Almeida*, *Badajoz*, and *Ciudad Rodrigo*, by which he separated Massena from Soult and secured a splendid base of operations for himself. (h) Wellington next defeated Marshal Marmont at *Salamanca* (1812), and entered Madrid in triumph. He then pushed on to besiege Burgos, but the concentration of the French army from the South of Spain compelled him once more to return to Portugal. (i) In 1813, after Napoleon's disasters in Russia, Wellington overthrew King Joseph at *Vittoria*, and compelled the French to retire to *Bayonne* in France which city was also reduced.

This great struggle sapped Napoleon's strength, drained his men and money which

made him too weak to fight the Powers of Central Europe, "opened a wing to the English soldiers" and even "attacked his moral standing in Europe" as he himself remarked at St. Helena. Napoleon called it "the running sore," and this conflict with the never-failing patriotism of a nation certainly paved the way for his downfall.

The Austrian Revolt (1809), and Napoleon's Campaigns :

In spite of the weakness of Emperor Francis I, his able minister, Count Stadion, by his reforms created a sort of national unity among the different races of the Austrian Empire under the Hapsburgh rule. Encouraged by the Spanish rising of 1808, Austria attempted to rouse the discontented Germans to throw off the French yoke.

To overawe Austria, Napoleon renewed his friendship with Czar Alexander I at *Erfurt Conference* and began his hostilities with Austria. By splendid manœuvres and a series of victories, Napoleon marched upon Vienna and took it, but being checked for a time by the Austrians at *Aspern-Essling*, he won the battle of *Wagram*. Austria now desired peace. The *Treaty of Vienna* was concluded (1809) by which Austria had to make large cessions of territory to France, which cut her off from Germany as well as from the Mediterranean to the great injury of her political importance and commerce. Shortly after, Napoleon married Marie Louisia the daughter of the Austrian Emperor, divorcing his amiable wife Josephine Beauharnais for her sterility (1810). The negotiator of this peace and marriage was Metternich, the new minister of Austria, who, while in his attempt to save his

Way to
Napoleon's
downfall
paved.

National
rising in
Austria.

Napoleon
occupied
Vienna.

The Treaty
of Vienna,
1809.

Napoleon
divorced
Josephine
and married
Marie
Louisia.

country apparently recognised Napoleon's supremacy and established friendship with him, began a reactionary policy in the Empire against Napoleonic institutions.

Expansion of Napoleonic Dominions (1809-II) :

Napoleon's annexations of the Papal States, of Holland, and of North Germany.

A French force occupied Rome and the Papal States were confiscated (1809) ; the Pope was made a prisoner for not submitting to Napoleon's decree and the Gallican Church was organised independent of the Romish Church. Napoleon's brother Louis resigned his crown of Holland which was annexed to France by Napoleon (1810). Between 1810-11 Napoleon annexed the whole of North Germany including Oldenburg and most of the Hanse-towns with a view to close the Elbe and the Weser to British commerce.

The Russian Disaster of Napoleon (1812) :

Napoleon's breach with Russia.

The Austrian marriage of Napoleon, his annexation of Oldenburg (in North Germany) whose ruler belonged to the Czar's family, Russia's withdrawal from the '*Continental System*', and Napoleon's sympathy for the Poles who were hoping to recover their independence with French support led to a rupture of the alliance between Russia and France contracted by the Treaty of Tilsit and strengthened at the Erfurt Conference. Napoleon with his army of 450,000 men reached Dresden, where the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia and many vassal princes waited on him at his invitation. "This *Re-union of Dresden* seemed a parting pageant, given to Napoleon by

Fortune ere she abandoned him." Strengthened by a Prussian contingent, Napoleon marched through Poland and invaded Russia. He gained a victory at *Borodino*, and occupied *Moscow* (Sept. 14, 1812) which he found to his utter disappointment and horror already deserted and destroyed of fire by the Russians. Waiting for five weeks, he had no other way left but to retreat with his heavily reduced army. After an experience of unparalleled hardships and privations due to, the depth of Russian frost, famine, and constant skirmishes with the Russian troops in the rear, the retreating army of Napoleon returned to the Prussian territory reduced only to 100,000 men. *This Moscow Expedition was Napoleon's strategic blunder which proved fatal to him*; the disastrous retreat of Napoleon moved Germany deeply—men thought, now was the time for action against the French Emperor, now or never.

Napoleon's expedition to Moscow and his disastrous retreat, 1812.

Moscow expedition a strategic blunder—Europe prepared against Napoleon.

The War of Liberation (1813-14), and the Downfall of Napoleon :

(a) *Rising in Prussia after the Russian Disaster :*

Since the Peace of Tilsit, which had brought Prussia to the verge of ruin, the Prussians began to feel the pulse of a national life under *Freiherr vom Stein*, the scion of an old family of Imperial Knights in Germany. Born in 1787 and educated at the University of Gottingen, he had entered the service of Frederick the Great of Prussia (1780), travelled in England and studied British institutions (1786-7), and became the Minister of State for Trade at Berlin (1804) ;

Revival of Prussia under the administration of Stein :

Stein's
reforms.
(a) Social ;

(b) Military ;

(c) Muni-
cipal ;

Stein's
exile ;

Stein's
new move ;

Prussia
entered into
alliance
with Russia,

but he was dismissed by Frederick William III, (1807) for not accepting the office of the Foreign Minister after the disaster at Jena. The Prussian king however recalled him shortly after and entrusted him with the ministry of Home affairs, and gave him a general share in the government (1807). He then introduced certain radical *social reforms* issuing the famous '*Emancipating Edict*' which abolished serfdom and all distinctions between the nobles, peasants, and villeins. Certain *military reforms* were also carried out by introducing the principle of everybody's liability to military service, by abolishing the obsolete military tactics and the degrading punishments to enforce discipline, and by organising a militia for defensive purposes only. *Municipal reforms* and the principle of local government were also introduced. All these reforms revived a national spirit in Prussia and she began to prepare herself to break off with France in a suitable moment. In 1808, Napoleon learning about Stein's correspondence with Austria against France demanded his dismissal, and he went into exile. When Napoleon was going to invade Russia in 1812, the party of Stein moved for Russian alliance to begin a desperate struggle for liberty.

After the Russian disaster of Napoleon, Stein, now in exile, removed the hesitation of the Czar Alexander I, to help Prussia actively and being appointed as the Czar's official to administer East Prussia summoned a *Diet at Königsberg* which decreed a levy-in-arms of the whole population to oppose Napoleon. The hesitating Prussian king, Frederick William III, was thus forced to go to war with Napoleon, and shortly after he signed the *Treaty of Kalisch*

(1813) with the Czar by which, the latter agreed to furnish a contingent of 150,000 troops, and to restore Prussia to its former dimension of 1805 and Prussia agreed to give up some annexations. War was formally declared in March 1813, and the Russian commander entered Berlin.

(b) Napoleon driven from Germany :

The allies now fervently appealed to all Germans to defend their liberty but no response came, as Saxony and other members of the Confederation of Rhine still remained true to their alliance with Napoleon. Napoleon, however, had gathered a new army of 'boys' in Paris with which he appeared at the heart of Germany and defeated the allied armies of Russia and Prussia at *Lutzen* and *Bautzen* (1813). The allies retreated to Silesia and looked to Austria for aid. The diplomatic Austrian minister, *Metternich*, fearing that the Czar would become too strong in case of a complete defeat of Napoleon, declined to join the allies at once but concluded a secret treaty with Prussia agreeing to declare war against France in case Napoleon refused to give up his hold on Germany. Napoleon, too, had already agreed to the *Armistice of Pleswitz* owing to the doubtful attitude of Austria, but it proved to be a grave error. The allies succeeded in winning over Sweden, and Austria also declared war (Aug. 1813) when Napoleon rejected the proposals of *Metternich*. England had already concluded subsidy-treaties with the allies and had stipulated for restoration of Hanover. Thus the European coalition of 1813 became prepared for the decisive campaign, and though Napoleon was successful once more at *Dresden*, he was utterly crushed at *Leipzig*.

Prussia
declared war
against
France.

Napoleon
defeated the
allies.

Austria
joined the
coalition.

Armistice
of Pleswitz,
1813.

Defeat of
Napoleon
at Leipzig.

(the '*Battle of the Nations*' as Germany called it) and hurried across the Rhine (Oct. 1813). The Confederacy of Rhine was abolished and the king of Saxony became a prisoner at Berlin; Holland was made independent; Denmark was compelled to abandon French alliance; and Norway was ceded to Sweden. At the same time the English general, Wellington, also forced back the French army out of Spain.

(c) *Invasion of France, and the Abdication of Napoleon (1814) :*

The allies advanced to Paris, and Napoleon forced to abdicate.

The allies now submitted to Napoleon their proposal at Frankfort about the limitations of the French territory within its natural boundaries of the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. Napoleon refused the terms and so the allies, under the advice of Stein, resolved to invade France. Napoleon was now hopelessly outnumbered; the allies entered Paris (March 31, 1814) and forced Napoleon to abdicate unconditionally (April 6, 1814) and to retire to the island of Elba as its ruler with the title of Emperor and an income of two million Francs.

The First Restoration of the Bourbons :

Louis XVIII restored to the French throne.

First Treaty of Paris, 1814.

The allies now restored the Bourbon monarchy under Louis XVIII, brother of the royal martyr, Louis XVI. Louis concluded the *First Treaty of Paris* with the allies on May 30, 1814 by which—(1) the French frontier of 1792 was retained, and France regained her colonies seized by England during the war except Mauritius and two other islands; (2) England secured Malta, Cape of Good Hope, and Demarara, Essequibo; (3) Holland was restored

to the House of Orange ; (4) Switzerland was to be independent ; (5) Germany was to be a confederacy ; (6) navigation of the Rhine was declared free ; (7) the allies were to evacuate France immediately without any war-indemnity (8) all questions still unsettled were to be referred to the congress to meet at Vienna.

Louis then published the '*Charter of the Constitution*' which gave France two *Legislative chambers*—one of peers nominated by the king, and the other of deputies elected by the people ; the latter should have control over taxation and expenditure ; the crown retained the right of initiating laws. Roman Catholicism became the state-religion while other creeds received toleration.

Louis XVIII
issued
the new
constitution.

The Congress of Vienna (1814-15) :

On Sept. 29, 1814 the great European congress met at Vienna to settle the territorial arrangements of the European states. All the states of Europe except Turkey, were represented, and the following arrangements were arrived at : (1) Germany was organised into 38 states, governed by a Diet of two chambers to be presided over by Austria ; Prussia regained her lands left of the Rhine with a portion of Saxony ; Bavaria and Hanover received some additions and the latter was raised to the rank of a kingdom ; (2) Russia obtained the Duchy of Warsaw and promised a liberal constitution to the Poles ; (3) In Italy, Ferdinand was recognised as king of two Sicilies ; Genoa was annexed to Sardinia ; Lombardy and Venetia went to Austria ; the Papal States and the Duchies of Modena and Tuscany were restored ; Parma and Piacenza were given to Marie Louisa : (4) Switzerland was

The meeting
of the
Congress of
Vienna,

its
settlements.

declared independent and neutral and her constitution was promulgated: (5) Norway was ceded to Sweden; Swedish Pomerania was given to Prussia and Finland to Russia; (6) Holland and Belgian Netherlands were united; (7) England retained Ceylon, Malta, Trinidad, Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, St. Lucia and Tobago; (8) France regained Guiana and Cayenne from Portugal, Guadeloupe from Sweden, and the Martinique and the Isle of Bourbon from England; (9) Slave trade was abolished and a code regulating the navigation of rivers was drawn up. The deliberations of this famous congress came to a final close on June 8, 1815.

Character
of the
settlement:

(a) triumph
of the
Reaction
against the
Revolution;
(b) birth
of the
doctrine of
'Legiti-
macy';

(c) dis-
regard
of the
principle of
Nationality;

This historic congress marks the formal triumph of the Reaction against Revolution. The revolutionary principles had ended in failure, and it was considered that the best arrangement would be to revert to the pre-revolutionary conditions by restoring the pre-revolutionary sovereigns and their heirs, who came to be regarded as the 'legitimate' rulers. This doctrine received the name of '*Legitimacy*' and its most "fanatical champion" was Metternich, the Austrian minister, who was the right hand of the congress and its president in fact as well as in name. But this principle was not consistently followed in course of the proceedings of the congress, which were marked by a ruthless disregard of historical usage or tradition, of differences of race or religion, and of popular rights, e.g. the great historic wrongs of the Partition of Poland was not undone; Norway was severed from Denmark with which she was associated by bond of language; Catholic Belgium was united with Protestant Holland; Austria was allowed to preponderate in Italy.

Though thus chargeable with short-comings, omissions, and mistakes, the congress built up a 'territorial system' which furnished guarantees for the security of continental Europe both against Russia and France. ^{(d) building up of a new territorial system;}

The Hundred Days of Napoleon :

The deliberations of the Congress however had been interrupted for a time, when news arrived at Vienna that Napoleon had left Elba and landed at Cannes (March 8, 1815). The French nation, indignant to receive the unpopular Bourbons at the dictation of the foreign Powers, enthusiastically received Napoleon who at once resolved to make a last attempt to regain his power. Most of his former ministers and generals flocked round Napoleon who proclaimed a pacific policy and grant of a liberal constitution. Louis XVIII finding resistance hopeless fled to Ghent. The allies, assembled at Vienna, declared Napoleon a public enemy of Europe. Preparations for a fresh campaign followed, and Wellington, and Blücher with the English and Prussian armies respectively assembled at Belgium. Napoleon compelled the Prussians under Blücher to retreat at *Ligny*, and Wellington made a successful stand against Marshal Ney at *Quatre-Bras*. These engagements separated the English and the Prussian armies. Napoleon resolved to attack the English while allowed his general, Marshal Grouchy to pursue the Prussians. Wellington took up his position at *Waterloo* and held it in spite of repeated and furious attacks. Before Marshal Grouchy could join Napoleon, Blücher however came up on the French right. Unable to stand against two foes, the French army gave way and

Napoleon's return from Elba and his recovery of power in France.

Preparations of the allies against Napoleon.

Campaign of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Fall of
Napoleon.

Napoleon was completely routed (June 18, 1815). He then went to Paris and abdicating in favour of his son tried to escape to America ; but the passages being guarded by the allies, he had to embark on board *The Bellerophon* for England writing a most pathetic letter to the English Regent :—"I have ended my political career and I come like Themistocles to take my seat at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of laws, whose shelter I claim from your Royal Highness as from the most powerful, the most constant, and the most generous of my enemies." But "the English government treated as a prisoner of war the man who came so nobly to claim its hospitality," and conducted him to the Island of St. Helena where he past six years in captivity till his death in 1821.

Napoleon
sent to
St. Helena.

✓ **Causes of Napoleon's Downfall, and an Estimate of him :**

The
unreal
Ambitions
of Napoleon.

Napoleon once said, "none but myself ever did me any harm; I was my only enemy." It was exactly so ; that dogged obstinacy which characterised him, his firm determination to hold out everything and yield nothing, his inordinate love of fighting, and lastly his tenacity to realise the unreal hope of making France the centre of a Federal Empire of Europe with Paris as its capital, really ruined the great Emperor. But the causes of his downfall are also to be sought elsewhere—in his *errors* in life : (1) He made a mistake in invading Egypt in 1798 to destroy British commerce by securing the command of the Mediterranean for France, because this roused English hostility against him. (2) This

hostility was further intensified when he projected the 'Continental System' between 1806-7 in order to close the European ports against British commerce. As England supplied cheap necessities of life to all Europe, those countries which were in alliance with France naturally became incensed to see their material interests suffer and decided to oppose Napoleon. (3) His promise, as he himself has remarked in his *Memoires*, of establishing 'systems of government adapted to the national temperament and circumstances' was violated by himself, when he himself became King of Italy, annexed the Ligurian Republic to France, arranged with Godoy to make a partition of Portugal, gave the throne of Spain to his own brother Joseph, annexed the Papal states in Italy, the kingdom of Holland, and the North German States in course of seven years. (4) The Moscow expedition and the disastrous retreat from Russia gave a fatal blow to his energy and his magic certainty of victory. (5) The armistice of Pleswitz (1813) gave the allies time to join with Austria and to prepare for the decisive battle of Leipzig. (6) In course of the Germanic war in 1813 he made the fatal mistake of abandoning the plan of dealing rapid and crushing blows to the retreating enemy and adopting the methods of making partial advances and strokes in air which fatigued his troops immensely. Of course, at Waterloo, Fate was against Napoleon, and English firmness, English resolution, and English blood won the victory; Victor Hugo has said "the too great heaviness of this man (Napoleon) in human destiny troubled the balance; the moment was come for the incorruptible Supreme Equity to

The Errors
of Napoleon
leading
to his
downfall.

Victor
Hugo's
remarks on
'Waterloo'.

take counsel. . . . Waterloo is not a battle ; it is the Universe changing the front."

Napoleon
and his
works :

Opinions
of the
conservative
and liberal
critics.

What
Napoleon
did for
France?

History, in judging the total of Napoleon's career, has varied widely and will vary according to the different tempers of the judges. Conservative critics of Napoleon find in him nothing but a "superb and maleficent explosion of human energy" and consider him as "the upstart captain of the revolutionary and militant democracy which had overturned the settled institutions of France and thrown its insolent challenge at the old order of Europe," while the liberal judges extoll the greatness of the man to such an extent as to call him the destroyer of Mædival barbarism. Lord Rosebery has compared him to Cæsar, Attila, Tamerlane or Mohammed ; how far it is correct is left to impartial readers to estimate. But, it cannot be denied that in France he "terminated the romance of the Revolution and conciliated the principles of social equality and political order", and established a strong government. His idea was to make education accessible to the mass of the nation to enlighten them, and in this direction he made a vigorous attempt by establishing Primary and Secondary schools, *Lycees*, *Ecoles spieciales*, for teaching literature, law, medicine, polytechnics and mechanics ; he built up the whole educational system, organising the Imperial University in 1808, which has created modern France. His economic legislations were though faulty, he gave France an admirable civil code—*Codé Napoleon*—of which France is proud even to this day. Although he had wasted Europe for fourteen years, he certainly sowed the seeds of national revival and political reformation throughout Europe which made

possible the liberal movements of the 19th century. The lasting benefit to Europe, nay to the whole world, that may be traced to Napoleon is the first experiment at Vienna to ensure the continuance of peace by a combined effort of the Powers meeting in congress ; and though the success of the experiment did not prove permanent, it must be admitted that, that experiment is being constantly repeated by pacific statesmen since then to avoid the wars.

What
Napoleon
did for
Europe?

England during the French Revolution :

At the outbreak of the French Revolution England showed great sympathy for it, fondly believing it to be a mere repetition of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. The great English minister Pitt the Younger was friendly to the movement; Fox, a Whig statesman was enthusiastic about it and on the fall of Bastille remarked "how much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world ; how much the best !" Burke, however, regarded it with disfavour and, pointing out the danger of suddenly altering the social political and religious institutions of nations and of basing them totally untried principles in his famous '*Reflections on the French Revolution*,' gave the tone to the English public opinion. The revolutionary excesses of the Paris mob and the September massacres in France brought the majority of Englishmen including the great minister, Pitt, to Burke's view of the Revolution. Measures were at once taken to stop the spread of the revolutionary principles in England ; proposals for Parliamentary Reform in England were not accepted ; the *Alien Act*, the *Treason Act*, the *Sedition Act* &c., were passed (1793-95). When Pitt's

Attitudes of
Pitt, Fox,
and Burke
towards the
French
Revolution.

Measures
adopted in
England.

England's
decision
to take up
arms against
France.

two successive negotiations with the French Directory for maintaining peace on the continent failed, England took up arms against France. Napoleon's expedition to Egypt in 1798 opened the chance of the British Navy to establish her supremacy on the sea, and when Napoleon made overtures for peace with England she disdainfully rejected the proposal. The struggle with Napoleon, as we have seen, was carried on cheerfully by England, and English gold, English resolution, and English blood at last taught the conqueror of so many countries how hard it was to establish a monarchy of the world.

The Second Restoration of the Bourbons :

Second
Treaty of
Paris,
1815.

Wellington and Blücher, the victors of Waterloo, marched to Paris, and the city capitulated after a feeble resistance (July 3, 1815). Louis XVIII returned there five days later, and no amnesty was granted to leading men who had supported Napoleon. By the *Second Treaty of Paris* (Nov. 1815) France was compelled to pay a heavy war-indemnity, to maintain an allied army of 150,000 men for five years, to yield that part of Savoy, which had been gained in 1814, to Sardinia, and to restore the works of Art brought from different countries by Napoleon.

✓ The Results of the French Revolution :

Primary
results :
1. Recognition
of individual
liberty :

(1) *Universal recognition of the principle of individual liberty.* This not only led to the enfranchisement of the French peasants from their hereditary bonds, but the gradual extinction of serfdom in Europe.

(2) *Establishment of great political units in the place of distracted geographical unions.* The spirit of nationality which did this, thus became ingrained in the European peoples. 2. Establishment of great political units :

(3) *Ambition of royal absolutism.* The Monarch again came to be regarded as a personal relation. He only reigned for the benefit of his people who ruled themselves through their representatives. 3. Abolition of royal despotism :

(4) *Practical appearance of Socialism.* Socialism henceforth ceased to be mere Utopias. The need of a social reconstruction, long felt and never doubted, took practical shape. The reconstruction which is going on imperceptibly in the civilised world of to-day, is the direct result of the great principles which the great French Revolution wanted to establish. We recognise to-day that we have the birth-right to sustenance and to the land which provides it. 4. Appearance of socialism :

The work of the French Revolution is not at an end. It is still a living force amongst us. In the words of the great Russian historian Prince Kropotkin, "the blood they (the French) shed was shed for humanity—the sufferings they endured were borne for the entire human race ; their struggles, the ideas they gave to the world, the shock of those ideas, are all included in the heritage of mankind. All have borne fruit and will bear more, still finer, as we advance towards those wide horizons opening out before us, where like some great beacon to point the way, flame the words—Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

BOOK V.
THE ERA OF RECONSTRUCTION.
CHAPTER I.

Reaction versus Revolution.

Formation of the Holy Alliance :

The Holy Alliance formed between Russia, Austria, and Prussia.

Its objects.

Criticism of its objects.

The outcome of the Congress of Vienna was the doctrine of '*Legitimacy*,' as propounded by Metternich, for the restoration of the pre-revolutionary sovereigns and institutions which meant a deep hatred of Revolution. This hatred soon developed into a fanatical faith, and under its influence, on September 26, 1815, Czar Alexander I of Russia, Emperor Francis of Austria, and King Frederick William of Prussia, formed a religious league, called the '*Holy Alliance*', proclaiming thereby that their foreign and domestic policy should be governed by a high standard of Christian faith and piety, that they would rule justly, promote brotherly love among their subjects and would maintain peace in Europe.

All this had a very millennial look. But the motives of the sovereigns being the outcome of an unpractical enthusiasm that was entirely out of date, the '*Holy Alliance*' really came to be league of '*Sovereigns*' against the '*People*'. Oscar Browning puts in short that "the Holy Alliance had two faces ; with one it looked upwards with mystical emotion, with the other it

frowned with threatening anger." The Holy Alliance, was, we should say, an organised hypocrisy, which, while professing to sympathise with popular aspirations, sought to undermine popular liberty. It was joined by all European Powers except England which is ever a home of 'Freedom'; and the European 19th century witnessed a long conflict between the reactionary policy of the so-called "Holy Alliance" adopted by the States and the expanding national and liberal ideas of the People.

Reaction in the European States :

Germany :

After the Congress of Vienna, German patriots fondly hoped either the restoration of the old United German Empire with reformed institutions or the formation of a new united constitutional government on the English model. But the Federal Assembly or *Bundestag* of the German confederation which became, in truth, only a congress of ambassadors from German States, could neither restore the old German Empire owing to mutual jealousies between Austria and Prussia, nor could create a new constitutional German government, owing to the reactionary principle of the 'Holy Alliance' adopted by most of the German States and Austria. Austria, under her reactionary minister Metternich, adopted absolutism as the form of government, and Prussia and other Northern German States, which had been fostered by Napoleon and had become familiar with modern principles of government laid down by Napoleon, gave their countries a written constitution.

The old constitution, neither restored, nor a new one set up.

Policy adopted in —Austria, Prussia, South German States.

tution after the model of France, and became a nucleus of liberty.

Violent
excitement
in Germany.

The strength of the liberal party in Germany lay virtually in the universities, the press, and in the provincial assemblies. German students, helped by their professors, formed an association of their own called the *Burschenschaft*, which was characterised by a scientific and progressive patriotism with a strict morality founded upon religion. They sang patriotic songs at their convivial gatherings and held banners of black, red, and gold, which are now the colours of United Germany. The press criticised the absolute governments; the provincial assemblies opposed reactionary measures of the despots. Another movement which disguised political agitation under the veil of social enthusiasm was the *Turnen* or Gymnastics.

Conference
of the
states at
Carlsbad,
and its
results.

Thinking that a stronger instrument was urgently required to meet the excitements of the time, Austria, Prussia, and other reactionary states held a *Conference at Carlsbad* and unanimously agreed to crush the liberal movement. The universities were officialised, the press was muzzled, the provincial assemblies were either dissolved or filled with government nominees, the gymnastic halls were closed, the German tricolour was proscribed, the police began to keep strict watch over political suspects, and all hopes of a constitutional government were destroyed by the establishment of Provincial Estates which tended to divide the states instead of uniting them. "To whisper the word 'German Nation' was a crime, to work for it was high treason." Germany "found itself without a national existence, cut up into tiny states,

ground down by officials, by police, and by nobles, without political rights or equality before the law." The policy of the 'Holy Alliance' and of Metternich triumphed. And the reactionary princes slumbered till they were awakened by the thunderclap of the July Revolution of 1830 in France.

Austria :

Prince Clemens Wenzel Lothar Metternich was adored by princes as the greatest statesman of his age. As the Chancellor of Austria, he kept the Austrian Empire intact when it was shaken by political convulsions at the time of Napoleon, laid down the principle of '*Legitimacy*' at the Congress of Vienna, and was the soul of the 'Holy Alliance' which sought to suppress risings of the *People* against the *Princes*. Having good looks, refined manners, and personal charms, he could fascinate others, but he was essentially an opportunist, endowed with a frivolous and superficial nature. Oscar Browning remarks "He had no settled scheme of action, no strong sense of duty, no fixed moral principles, no fund of political knowledge, no statesman-like instinct. * * Napoleon not only controlled his age, formed a new France and went far to form a new Europe, but by his very superfluity of intellect he created an opposition to himself which might suffice to clothe a characterless spirit with the appearance of reality. Metternich found this shell and occupied it. It was a sufficient programme for him to undo the work of the great Emperor, and to check every impulse which might again awaken it into activity."

Adminis-
tration of
Metternich:
—an
estimate
of him.

The French institutions throughout the

His Home
policy.

Austrian Empire were abolished by him. Books, newspapers, and even letters were subjected to a severe censure ; university was persecuted ; History, Philosophy and Latin Literature being forbidden, hard intellectual study flourished and Austria became ignorant of the spiritual life of Germany ; Metternich's spies harassed the people ; and the civil administration became corrupt, justice rare and the army decayed. The people submitted to the regime for fear of persecution and in the Austria of Metternich feudalism still held its sway.

His foreign
policy.

As at home, so abroad Metternich's policy failed. His policy of '*Legitimacy*' suffered defeat by popular risings. His '*Holy Alliance*' at last came to be counter-balanced by the *Quadruple Alliance* (formed in 1834) in the West for upholding constitutional principles ; the Austrian control over the 'balance of power' in the Balkans passed to England, Russia, and France ; his utmost effort to crush liberalism in Spain, Portugal, and Switzerland became futile and at last it triumphed in Greece when she became independent of Turkey (*Vide poste*).

France :

France
under
Louis
XVIII :

Louis XVIII, on his first restoration after Napoleon's first abdication, had given a charter to the French people, by which he assured the people a share in the government. But on his second restoration after the second abdication of Napoleon, France became divided into two hostile camps—the Bourbonists or royalists and the Napoleonists or Republicans, and the *Chamber of Deputies* came to have a royalist majority in it. The *Chamber of Peers*, which

was naturally full of royalists, led by Charles Count of Artois—the king's brother and supported by the royalists majority in the other chamber, began to pass despotic measures. Soon a revolutionary spirit displayed itself and on Feb. 13, 1820 a republican murdered the Duke of Berry, the younger son of Count of Artois. This event led Louis XVIII to join the 'Holy Alliance' and to pass severe measures by which the press was silenced, the charter was practically suspended, and the suffrage was so restricted as to increase the importance of the wealthy aristocracy. Louis died in 1824.

Louis XVIII joined the 'Holy Alliance'.

Spain :

When on the fall of Napoleon, the deposed Bourbon king Ferdinand VII was restored, he sought to recover all the autocratic rights of his ancestors, and deliberately set aside the patriotic constitution of 1812 by which Joseph Bonaparte had ruled in Spain after the Napoleonic invasion. French institutions were abolished, the monasteries were restored. The nobles regained their privileges, the 'Inquisition' and the Jesuits were re-instated, and liberals were persecuted. At last in 1820, the liberals declared war against the absolute monarchy and restored the constitution of 1812. The king, a coward at heart, yielded to the storm.

The Bourbon restoration, and the revolution of 1820.

Portugal :

The country, at the close of the 18th century was ruled by an absolute king. The invasion of the French had roused the spirit of reform, while the English army which occupied the country to save it from Napoleon, after the escape of its king, John VI, to Brazil (1809),

Revolt
against
the English
military
government
and the
restoration
of John VI.

established a despotic military government. The hatred of foreign domination however, led the patriotic party to revolt against English despotism in 1820. They drove out Lord Beresford, the English military governor, proclaimed a constitution, and invited John VI who had already given Brazil a free constitution to rule as a constitutional king. After John's death (1826), the crown of Brazil devolved upon his son Dom Pedro, and that of Portugal upon his daughter, Donna Maria.

Italy :

Arbitrary
rule of the
restored
princes,
and the
uprising
of the
Carbonaries
in Naples.

Here the Austrian states (Lombardy, Venice &c.) established perfect absolutism while other states, Parma, Modena, Naples, Piedmont, at the Austrian dictation adopted a strong reactionary policy. The Pope, and Victor Emmanuel I who now came again into possession of Piedmont, were also absolutists. But the *Carbonaries* or the members of a secret organisation who desired the unity of Italy, the establishment of constitutional government, and the expulsion of foreigners, stirred up a revolution in Naples (1820) and compelled its king Ferdinand to accept a liberal constitution. In other states too, they became very active.

The Efforts of the Holy Alliance to crush Revolutions :

Congress of
Troppau
and of
Laybach.

The revolution in Naples alarmed the reactionary Europe. Metternich, the soul of the 'Holy Alliance', called together a European Congress (first) at Troppau (1820), and (later at) Laybach (1821), where he successfully persuaded all Europe to put down revolutions. Europe

adopted a policy of repression against Revolution, and Austria obtained the assent of Russia and of Prussia to restore absolutism in Naples, though England had entered her formal protest. Nearly 60,000 Austrian troops entered Naples, crushed the *Carbonaries* and restored king Ferdinand as absolute monarch.

Austrian intervention in Naples.

Undaunted at this, the *Carbonaries* soon revolted in Piedmont and occupied the capital. King Victor Emmanuel I abdicated in favour of his brother and retired. But the Austrians entered Piedmont; the patriots after an honourable fight fled in wild disorder, and absolutism was restored by Austrian bayonets.

Carbonari uprising in Piedmont and Austrian intervention.

Delighted at the success of his policy, Metternich called together the members of the 'Holy Alliance' at the Congress of Verona (1822), to discuss the matter of an intervention in Spain which had adopted a free constitution. The congress called upon the Spaniards to alter the constitution and to give more power to their king. This being refused, a French army entered Spain and its capital in triumph, and restored despotism.

Congress of Verona and French intervention in Spain.

Thus the reaction maintained its grip on Europe, and 'Freedom' was suppressed. But 'Freedom's flag' would be seen flying again in happier moments.

The Eastern Question, and the War of Greek Independence :

Meaning of the "Eastern Question" :

It was the idea of nationality as well as the oppressiveness of the Turkish government which caused frequent revolts of its Christian subjects

The idea underlying it.

in South Eastern Europe. These revolts, supported by Christian Powers, gradually led to the independence of Greece and to the practical independence of the various Balkan States. The Eastern Question, therefore, means the gradual dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and the conflicting interests of European nations resulting therefrom.

Independence of Greece :

When in the Western countries nations were groaning under the tyranny of absolute princes, in the Near East the little historic land of Greece was struggling to throw off the repulsive yoke of the Turks for many centuries. The struggle became successful owing, firstly to the decay of the Ottoman power since the treaties of Carlowitz and Passarowitz caused by (a) the weakness of the Sultans, (b) factious quarrels amongst the nobles of the court, (c) large increase of powers of the *Janissaries*, (d) and practical independence of the Pashas or provincial governors ; secondly, to the sympathies of the Christian nations which the Greeks drew.

Causes of the decline of the Turks at the beginning of the 19th century.

Greek rising in 1821.

The Greeks rose in revolt in Morea, Roumelia, Thessaly, and the Greek islands (1821), and the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia followed their example. The Turks retaliated by perpetrating abominable atrocities, but the Greeks resisted Turkish tyranny bravely and, though defeated, could not be subdued. At last, in 1822, the first Greek National Assembly met and drew up a constitution.

The reactionary princes of Europe, under the spell of Metternich, connected the movement with the disturbances that took place in

Spain, Portugal, Italy and other countries, and looked on with indifference; while the English Tories, who were then ruling the destinies of England, as they were opponents of all sorts of innovation, as they were afraid of losing possession of the Ionian Islands, as they mistrusted Russia and could not see that the liberation of Greece would produce any advantage to English trade, partly ridiculed and partly crushed these aspirations. But battalions of crusading volunteers from England and the continent marched into Hellas to defend the cause of liberty and civilization, and the Greeks fought obstinately till their last fortress of Missolonghi was occupied.

Attitude
of the
European
princes.

Greek patriotism soon roused the ardour of all lovers of liberty. Canning, England's new Tory foreign minister who favoured liberty abroad and was the foe of the 'Holy Alliance', became a champion of the Greek cause and called Czar Nicholas I and Charles X of France to join him. 'Every nation for itself, and God for us all!' was his motto. Nicholas I, who liked to protect Greek Christians as champion of the Greek church and hoped to acquire Constantinople, the Sultan's capital, in order to secure the control of the Eastern Mediterranean, a road to India, at once responded to Canning's call. Charles X too followed Nicholas.

Canning
and the
Greek
Question.

Russia
and France
agreed on
common
action with
England.

In 1872 England, Russia, and France agreed by the *Treaty of London* to make Greece an independent state paying tribute to the Sultan. Metternich wept and grumbled that Nicholas I, joining the crusade against the Turks, had practically dissolved the 'Holy Alliance', while all lovers of liberty heaped glories upon the head of Canning.

Treaty of
London,
1872,
and the
attitude of
Metternich.

Battle of
Navarino
and its
effects.

Russo-
Turkish
War,
1828-29.

Peace of
Adrianople,
1829.

Establish-
ment of the
Greek
kingdom.

At length, on the refusal of Turkey to comply with the demands of the allies, united English and French fleets attacked and destroyed the combined fleets of the Sultan and his practically independent viceroy, Mehemet Ali, of Egypt at *Navarino* (1827). The Turkish defeat at Navarino was so complete that Victor Hugo cried, "Greece is free, six years have been avenged by a single day", but the English ministers considered this as "an untoward event." The Sultan delaying to grant independence to the Greeks, Czar Nicholas on his own account invaded and occupied the Danubian provinces, and forced him to sign the *Peace of Adrianople* (1829) by which, (1) the Danubian provinces of Servia, Moldavia, and Wallachia were to obtain Christian governors, (2) the Turkish forts in these countries were to be razed to the ground, (3) the navigation on the Danube was to be free, (4) neutral vessels were to pass freely through the Dardanelles in times of war, and (5) Greece was to be independent. Then a *Conference at London*, confirmed the Peace of Adrianople and made Greece a constitutional monarchy, the crown being given to Prince Otto of Bavaria.

Thus ended a heroic struggle in triumph and "the independence of Greece was the first victory of Liberalism in Europe since the Congress of Vienna."

The Revolutions of 1830 :

(a) *The July Revolution in France :*

Charles X
(1824-30)

Louis XVIII of France died (1824), and was succeeded by his brother Charles X. A

champion of feudalism, he filled the cabinet with ministers who were staunch royalists. Jules Polignac, his personal friend was placed at the head of the Foreign office and the cabinet. The Jesuits were allowed to return to France and to control higher education. Large sums of money were spent to compensate for the losses of the emigrants. The National Guard was disbanded. Lastly, the king published under his seal the four Ordinances, on July 26, 1830 drafted by Polignac, by which the press were muzzled, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, a new chamber was summoned, and the franchise to elect the chamber was altered and placed entirely under government control.

Charles's attempts to restore absolutism in France :

Polignac ministry and the four ordinances, 1830.

The ordinances meant the most flagrant violation of the laws, the revocation of the constitution, and the return to absolutism. All France began to resound with shouts of "*Vive la Charte!*" "*A bas les Ministres!*" Polignac's windows were broken, and barricades were raised on the streets. On July 28, the civil war broke out. The troops were powerless against the mob, who were joined by bands of students and citizens of all classes. A provisional government was set up, Charles X was declared to be deposed, and the crown was offered to Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, the popular head of the secondary branch of the House of Bourbon.

The 'July Revolution' in Paris.

Louis Philippe at first hesitated to accept the crown, but, being requested by the Chamber of Deputies, he adopted the title of 'King of the French, (Aug. 9, 1830), and solemnly swore to observe a new liberal constitution, by which Catholicism was to be no longer the state-religion in France and all forms of religion were to be

Louis Philippe, declared King of the French.

tolerated, the censorship of the press was to be abolished, laws were not to be suspended by the Crown, the initiative of legislation was to go to the Chambers as well as to the king, the conditions of the franchise were to be easier, extraordinary tribunals were not to be set up, and foreign troops were not to be employed by the king. This news blasted the last hope of Charles X and he now left the kingdom.

The report of the July Revolution in Paris spread like wild fire. As the success of the revolution meant a great victory for Liberalism, country after country in Europe rose in revolt against absolutism, inspired by the ideas of freedom and of self-government.

(b) *The Revolution in Belgium :*

The Belgians were the first to stir. By the decree of the Congress of Vienna, Belgium had been incorporated with Holland under the rule of the Dutch House of Orange. This political marriage of Belgium with Holland was destined to prove unhappy. The Belgians were feeling much discomfort from the union, because they were different in every respect, in nationality, in character, in religion, in language and in mode of life, from their Dutch neighbours. King William, like Emperor Charles V, attempting to fuse the two nations into one gave offence to the Belgians. He fostered Dutch education, Dutch civilisation, and made Dutch the official language throughout the Low countries. He encouraged commerce and industry, and invited Belgian merchants to settle in Holland, and Dutch merchants to settle in Belgium. All, that he did, he did with excellent intentions ; but

Flight of
Charles.

Effects
of the
revolution
outside
France.

Relations
of Belgium
and Holland
after 1815.

Causes of
Belgian
discontent.

the Belgians wanted a separate government and complete freedom of their education and national institutions, as also the development of indigenous industry and commerce.

But when his excessive love of personal government led King William to resist these claims, the Belgians revolted (1830). The performance of a revolutionary piece of opera spread the infection among the audience in Brussels, and a provisional government was set up. The king's troops being overpowered, European Powers came to interfere. At a *Conference in London*, all Powers at the proposal of England and France agreed to grant a separate government to the Belgians under a constitutional king. In 1831 Belgium was created a kingdom, the crown being given to Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg; its perpetual neutrality was secured by a European guarantee; and freedom of navigation was secured in rivers common to Holland and Belgium.

Revolution
in Brussels,
1830.

The Powers
recognised
independence of
Belgium
and her
neutrality,
1831.

The independence of Belgium has been justified by success. Belgium has presented the spectacle of a free, intelligent, and progressive society. Her mines, manufactures, and industries have been remarkably developed, her universities have contributed much to the advancement of knowledge and civilization.

Progress
of Belgium
since 1831.

Belgium's neutrality had never been violated during the subsequent European wars and she enjoyed peace. But during the present *Great War*, Germany has violated her neutrality—"an infraction of international law"; her troops have devastated the country by sacking cathedrals and public buildings, by burning down the ancient library and university of Louvain, by destroying other historic cities and

Devastation
of Belgium
by Germany
during the
Great war
of 1914—

The
'German
Fury' in
Belgium.

commercial centres, by plundering the last penny and the last horse of the peasant, by exacting barbarous war-taxes, by driving out the destitute like cattles, and, above all, by ruthlessly slaying fathers and sons and deliberately violating the chastity of mothers and sisters—the "*German Fury*" indeed! King George V of England spoke of it as "*shameless holocaust lit up by blind barbarian vengeance*'.

(c) *The Revolution in Poland :*

Poland
under Czar
Alexander I.

The success of the revolutions in France and Belgium stimulated Poland to make a serious effort to recover her independence. Czar Alexander I, though a despot in Russia, gave this country a liberal constitution, a national army, and ruled wisely through Polish officials and a Russian viceroy. He had established a national bank, constructed roads, favoured industry and encouraged literature and science ; still the Poles conspired against Russian rule and all Poland was honeycombed with secret societies. This broke Alexander's heart.

Rule of
Czar
Nicholas I.

Revolution
in Warsaw,
1830.

Nicholas I, therefore, began to rule the country with a feeling of mistrust and afterwards attempted to establish absolutism and to Russianise the population. The patriotic Poles became highly indignant. On Nov. 29, 1830, a band of students, fully armed, attempted to kill the viceroy in the palace of the Belvedere ; the viceroy saved his life by flight. But this event became the signal for a general rising. Warsaw, the capital, rose in revolt, and all Poland followed the example. The army having joined the rebels, the revolution was complete in eight days.

But internal dissension, that curse of Disunion Poland, soon made itself felt. The conservative aristocrats wanted only a reform of the constitution, while the progressive middle class looked for complete independence. A provisional government was, however, set up, and the Diet, under the influence of the conservative party, drew up all their grievances and sent two emissaries to present them to Czar Nicholas I. But the Czar would have nothing less than unconditional surrender, and, this being refused, Russian troops marched into Poland. Polish patriots faced the disciplined Russian army bravely, defended Warsaw heroically, but after a year's fighting they had to surrender (1831). Thousands of patriots fled to foreign countries where they wandered about eating the breads of affliction and pouring the woes of their fatherland into the ears of sympathetic Europe, while thousands of Polish prisoners filled the mines and highlands of Siberia.

among the Poles.

Russian attack upon Warsaw and suppression of the revolt.

By the *Organic Statute* passed in 1832, (1) Poland lost its Diet which was replaced by a Council of State, (2) it became a Russian province, (3) its own language was replaced by the Russian one, (4) its national army gave place to a Russian army, (5) and its Roman Catholic faith made room for the Greek orthodox church. Poland lay bound and gagged at the feet of Russia. Her failure to achieve independence was due not so much to the strength of Russia, as to her internal dissensions. But she has never lost her faith in independence and has fondly clung to her past memories. On the outbreak of the present *Great War*, Czar Nicholas II promised to grant her again self-government ;

Abolition of the Polish constitution, 1832.

Reasons of Poland's failure.

Hopes of Poland.

but Russia herself is at present in a state of anarchy, the noble Czar is since murdered, and Poland is lying conquered at the feet of the despot, Kaiser William II. No one can foretell whether the hopes of Poland will ever be realised!

(d) *The Revolution in Germany :*

Some gains for constitutional government.

Conference of Vienna, 1833.

Formation of the Zollverein—first step towards German unity.

The July revolution in France and the stirring events in Belgium and Poland produced a powerful effect on Germany. A general cry was raised for freedom and unity ; revolutionary movements broke out, and mobs came into collision with troops. The results of all these were that (1) the smaller states in the North such as Brunswick, Saxony, Hanover, and Hesse established modern representative governments, and (2) the South German states such as Bavaria, Württemberg, and Baden confirmed their liberal constitutions which had been granted after 1815, (3) while Austria and Prussia, under Metternich's influence, suppressed all movements. In 1833, the ministerial *Conference of Vienna* between Austria, Prussia, and Russia, held under the presidency of Metternich decided to employ repression against the encroachments of the chambers, the universities, and the press, and established a judicial court to decide disputes between the rulers and the ruled. The position of Prussia at this time was however peculiar ; on the one hand she persisted in the antiquated absolute system, on the other she was working for the unity of the Fatherland by the establishment of a uniform system of custom duties through the *Zollverein* or Customs Union.

(e) The Revolution in Italy :

We have seen how, the *Carbonaries* in Italy had failed to secure Italian union and freedom. Though they had failed, still they fondly clung to the hope of the 'resurrection of Italy,' '*Il Risorgimento d'Italia*,' and filled all Italy with secret societies. So when liberal risings took place in other countries, the *Carbonaries* revolted in Modena, Parma, and the Papal States, and deposed and drove away the 'legitimate' rulers. Metternich, who had been keeping a close watch upon the peninsula from the vantage-point of Lombardy at once sent Austrian troops who easily crushed the revolutions and restored the 'legitimate' rulers. The Italian revolution of 1830 was, therefore, of little consequence.

Italian risings of 1830 suppressed easily by Metternich.

(f) The Revolution in Spain :

Absolutism, as we have noticed, had been restored in Spain by France in 1823. Since then thousands of Spanish patriots were living as exiles in foreign countries. But when the July revolution in France broke out, these Spanish Liberals tried to re-enter Spain by armed force ; they were, however, defeated, imprisoned or persecuted by the order of king Ferdinand VII. At last when the king, having no son to succeed him after his death, abolished the Salic Law and made his daughter Isabella heir to the crown in preference to his brother Don Carlos, Don Carlos vehemently opposed the king's action. Ferdinand advised by his Queen Christina became inclined to the side of the Liberals for support and to conciliate them issued a liberal constitution, the *Estatudo Real*, which established two chambers chosen by indirect election.

Attempts of the Spanish Liberal exiles foiled by Ferdinand VII.

Change in the policy of Ferdinand and 'Carlism' in Spain.

The king's departure from the policy of absolutism made the Apostolical or Ultra-royalist party angry and they gathered round Don Carlos, "in whose fanatical soul there was not a spark of toleration."

Isabella II,
1833-68.

Civil war
in Spain.

After the king's death in 1833 Spain was divided into two hostile parties—the 'Christinos' or constitutionalists following the lead of Queen-mother Christina, the Regent to the young Queen Isabella, and the 'Carlists' or ultra-royalists following the lead of Don Carlos, who assumed the title of Charles V. Soon a civil war ensued, known in Spain as *Seven Years' War*. Russia, Prussia and Austria, the three members of the 'Holy Alliance', refused to acknowledge Isabella, while England and France made the *Quadruple Alliance* with Spain and Portugal in 1834 to support Isabella in Spain and Donna Maria in Portugal. With the aid of British troops, the Regent defeated and drove away Don Carlos and his followers, and Isabella's throne was secured.

(g) *The Revolution in Portugal :*

Usurpation
of Dom
Miguel in
Portugal.

Donna
Maria
obtained
the Crown.

It has been noticed, that after King John VI's death (1826), Dom Pedro, his son, remained in Brazil as a constitutional Emperor and gave the crown of Portugal to his daughter Donna Maria. In 1828, Dom Miguel, brother of Pedro I however, proclaimed himself king with the help of the 'absolutists'. Upon this, Pedro came from Brazil to Europe to support the cause of his daughter. He enlisted the sympathy of England and France, and after the conclusion of the *Quadruple Alliance* in 1834, Donna Maria, with the help of English troops and liberals, drove

Dom Miguel out of the country, and began to rule as a constitutional queen.

(h) *The Revolution in Switzerland :*

The Congress of Vienna had established the old system of a loose confederation in which each canton was practically sovereign and independent. In 1830, the liberal cantons rose against the oligarchical tyranny of the conservative ones, and secured some constitutional reforms in the Federal Assembly. Conservative cantons being opposed to further democratic reforms, two leagues were formed (1832)—the *Quarrel between the conservative and the liberal cantons.* *Sarner Bund* composed of conservative cantons, and the *Siebener Concordat* composed of democratic cantons. Soon a civil war broke out, in which the Liberals were victorious, and as a result of which the *Sarner Bund* was dissolved (1834). The conservative cantons which were mostly Catholic, however, attempted to strengthen their position by placing education in the hands of the Jesuits. The Liberal cantons demanding the expulsion of the Order, the conservative cantons made themselves into a separate confederation, called the *Sonderbund* (1845). On the formation of the 'Sonderbund,' Russia, Prussia, and Austria declared the Swiss Confederation dissolved, and invited England and France to intervene in Switzerland. But England and France maintained strict neutrality, and, before the absolute Powers could intervene, General Dufour of the Swiss Confederation defeated and dissolved the 'Sonderbund' and drove away the Jesuits (1847).

The Revolutions of 1848 :

(a) *The Revolution in France :*

The King and his Relation with the Parties :

Unpopularity of the reign of Louis Philippe :

Shortly after the accession of Louis Philippe on the throne of France, his government became unpopular. He could not be blamed much for this, because he was put in such uncommon difficulties with which no one but an extraordinary genius could successfully cope with.

Reasons for it.

France was, at the time of his accession divided into four parties, of which the Bonapartists, the Bourbonists, and the Republicans were opposed to the Orleanist dynasty, while only the Constitutionalists supported it. The king therefore, had to look to the strengthening and material advancement of the constitutional party, composed entirely of capitalist middle-class men who were owners of factories, shops etc., and to secure many other social benefits.

Supremacy of the middle classes.

Industrial discontent and Socialist theories.

But the poor labouring population, with the spread of education in the 19th century, organised themselves into 'unions' and began to demand higher wages and other social privileges. These 'Socialists', as they were called, became angry with the king for his undue preference for the capitalist middle classes who gave small wages and were opposed to social reforms.

Socialism and Reform Banquets :

Demands of the Socialists :

They soon joined the opposition and began to demand larger political concessions from the king. The most important and reasonable of

their demands was the extension of the suffrage. Among a large population, only a very small number was represented in the Chambers, owing to a high property qualification and those, who were represented, were mostly middle-class men. Thiers, a champion of democracy, warmly supported this popular demand and repeatedly proposed in the Chambers for the extension of suffrage. The Constitutionalists opposed the proposals of Thiers, and their leader Guizot, who was Premier in 1848, even refused to listen to the popular demands. Then in order to create a public opinion in favour of electoral reform, reform banquets were held in several towns, and at last it was generally agreed that a large reform banquet should be held in Paris on February 22, 1848.

Thiers
ministry
supported
them :

Guizot
ministry
opposed.

Political
banquets
held by
Socialists.

Abdication of Louis Philippe :

The banquet being prohibited by the government, the crowds, who came to celebrate it, became excited and demanded Guizot's dismissal. The king, in order to satisfy the mob and to conciliate the opposition, dismissed Guizot and made Thiers Premier the next day. But a band of troops having killed some of the mob by shooting, the mob surrounded and stormed the Tuileries. Louis Phillippe abdicated and fled from Paris to England. A provisional government, under Lamartine, was set up, and France was declared a Republic.

Prohibition
of the
banquet by
government.

Collision
of the
Paris mob
with the
troops.
France
made a
Republic.

(b) *The Revolution in Germany :*

The overthrow of the Monarchy in France became the signal for the breaking out of a general revolutionary movement all over Germany. The rulers, however, to save their

Growth of
Liberalism
in Germany.

thrones, immediately conciliated their subjects by introducing such reforms as the liberty of the press, trial by jury, political equality, ministerial responsibility, equal taxation, abolition of feudal obligations etc. Only rulers of Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Prussia and Austria remained silent.

Summoning
of the
Vorparla-
ment,
March 8,
1848.

Then the Liberals, who had the fondest desire to reform the "*Bundestag*" and to make Germany a federal state, called the German states to send deputies to a *Vorparlament*, which was to be a German national parliament. But before the states could respond, Vienna rose in insurrection, compelled Metternich to fly away to England and Emperor Ferdinand I to grant liberty to the press, to form a citizen-guard, and to promise a liberal constitution. The rising in Vienna was followed soon by a rising in Berlin and Frederick William IV, the Prussian king, promised to restore liberty to the press, to transform the German confederation (*Statenbund*) into a federal state (*Bundestat*), and to incorporate Prussia in it. From this time Prussia really put herself at the head of the Liberal movement. Seeing what happened in Vienna and Berlin and what attitude Austria and Prussia took, Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover granted liberal constitutions.

Fall of
Metternich;
triumph of
constitu-
tionalism in
Vienna and
Berlin.

Grant of
liberal
constitution
in other
states.

Now that 'constitutionalism' triumphed in all Germany, the question of *Vorparlament* was again raised. The *Vorparlament* soon met at Frankfort, being animated by a zeal for German unity. This parliament which substituted the old *Bundestag*, was composed of deputies from each of the confederated states elected by universal suffrage and their ruling princes. The princes were allowed to frame a constitution for the federal government and to constitute

Meeting
of the
Vorparla-
ment—its
composition.

Germany, as regards her foreign relations, a single, powerful, and united state. On June 29, 1848, the parliament chose the Archduke John of Austria as the executive head of the federal state, under the title of 'Reichsverweser' or 'lieutenant-administrator of the empire.'

The election being received with universal acclamation by the end of 1848, the parliament drew up and presented to the German nation the "fundamental rights," based on liberal theories. It then proceeded to frame the constitution. After a stormy debate it was arrived at that a single hereditary emperor, called the German Emperor, maintained in his dignity by a civil list voted by the German Parliament, was to have the executive in all affairs of the empire and the right of making peace or war; he was to nominate and appoint all officers of the state, of the army and navy, and of the staff of the guard; the German parliament was to be only a national legislative body consisting of a Federal Chamber (*Statenhaus*) based on the independence of the states, and a Popular Chamber (*Volkshaus*) based upon the unity of the people.

On April 3, 1849, Frederick William IV was elected the German Emperor, but he refused imperial dignity, probably because either he hated the democratic clauses of the constitution or he liked not to be embroiled in a war with the Emperor of Austria. On Prussia's refusal to accept the constitution, most of the German States also refused to do so. The first German parliament, thus, discredited, came to an end on June 18, 1849, but it gave an impulse to the realisation of German unity.

The Prussian king, however, who at heart

John as
head of the
Bundestat.

The
German
constitution
as settled
by the
Vorparlament.

Frederick
William IV
refused the
Imperial
dignity.

End of
the first
Parliament.

Aims of
Prussia.

desired to be the head of a united Germany, invited the German princes to a conference at Berlin, and proposed to form a federal parliament of two chambers, from which Austria was to be excluded and of which himself was to be the president. Some of the princes only gave a half-hearted assent to this projected '*Union*,' while others remained indifferent. But the second German Parliament, which met on March 20, 1850, at Erfurt, confirmed it.

The second
Parliament
at Erfurt.

The
'*Union*'
and the
'*Bundestag*'
—division in
Germany.

On the other hand, Austria, refusing to fall away from her leading position in Germany, summoned the old *Bundestag* at Frankfort which was joined by all the states that had not joined the '*Union*.' Thus Germany was divided into two hostile camps and a war between Austria and Prussia seemed inevitable. But the war was averted by Prussia giving up the '*Union*' and agreeing to settle German affairs in a conference.

The
Conference
of Dresden
and the
restoration
of the
'*Bundestag*'

The conference which met at Dresden, only decided in favour of the simple restoration of the old state of things before 1848. Thus the great movement failed. Austria revoked, the liberal constitution granted to her subjects, but Prussia retained her constitution, hoping to assume the leadership of Germany under more auspicious circumstances.

(c) *The Revolution in Italy :*

Italy before
1848.

Italy has hardly any history between 1815 and 1848, except the insurrections of the *Carbonaries* in 1820 and in 1830. These risings were put down by the strong hand of Austria, which kept a firm hold on Lombardy and Venice, maintained smaller Italian princes on

their thrones, and virtually ruled the whole country.

But in 1848, the Italian patriots, being inspired by the German Liberal movement of 1848, tried once more to free their country and make it united. Lombardy and Venice first rose against the Austrians and declared their independence (March 1848). Soon Tuscany, Sicily, and other states, drove out their despotic princes, mobilized their troops to assist Lombardy and Venice, and gave the generalship of their combined army to Charles Albert, king of Sardinia, who had expressed his sympathy with the constitutional and national aspirations of his countrymen.

Revolts in Lombardy and Venice :

Charles Albert declared war against Austria.

Austria sent a vast army to Italy which scattered the Italian forces at *Custoza* (July, 1848), and reconquered Lombardy. Being defeated again at *Novara*, Charles Albert, sick at heart, abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II (1849), who made peace with Austria by giving a war-indemnity. Austria soon reconquered Venice too. Thus the north of Italy again fell prostrate before Austria, and, with thus, the petty despots of central and southern Italy returned to their states.

Defeat of Charles Albert, and reconquest of Lombardy and Venice by Austria.

In Rome, the history was, rather a little different from that of other states. Pope Pius IX was no despot. By a series of generous measures, he had sympathised with the Liberal movement, and granted a liberal constitution. But when Lombardy and Venice waged the national war against Austria, and Roman patriots urged him to send help to Lombardy and Venice, he adopted contradictory measures. This was his fault. Rome rose in insurrection under **Mazzini** and **Garibaldi**, drove him out

Rising in Rome, and the foundation of the Roman Republic by Mazzini and Garibaldi.

of the city, and declared the Papal dominions a Republic (Feb. 9, 1849). Mazzini became the President, and Garibaldi the General of the Republic.

The French expedition to Rome, and fall of the Republic.

The Roman Catholic world became indignant at the conduct of the Romans. Louis Napoleon, the new President of the French Republic, in order to make himself popular, sent an army which swept Mazzini and his republic out of Rome (July, 1849), and restored the Pope to the Vatican.

(d) The Revolution in Austro-Hungary :

Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot.

Democratic government in Vienna and Ferdinand's escape to Inspruck.

Pan-Slav Congress at Prague.

Simultaneously with the rising of the Germans at Vienna, the Hungarians at Buda-Pesth rose in revolt in 1848 under their leader, Kossuth, for freeing Hungary from Hapsburgh rule and separating her from the many-tongued empire of Austria. Not satisfied with the separate ministry already granted to them, the revolutionary party in Hungary forced the Diet to grant them a constitution on the model of Baden. Jealous of the Magyars of Hungary, the Slavs of Bohemia, who had also begun a national movement, decided to support the government. Vienna rose in open revolt, demanded the reform of the constitution, and Ferdinand escaped to Inspruck. The Bohemians took this as a serious blow to their cause, as they thought that Ferdinand would reside in Prague and entrust the defence of the crown to his Slav subjects. A Pan-Slav congress held at Prague (June, 1848) decided to remain loyal to the Hapsburghs on condition that the Austrian monarchy should be organised as a federation, and at the same time a provisional government was established at Prague. General Windisch-

grätz, however, reduced Prague to submission. At the same time the Slavs and Croats of Hungary rose in wild revolt against the party of Kossuth. The Austrian assembly (*Reichsrath*) began its sitting in Vienna, Ferdinand returned there, and declared war against Hungary. Under the influence of Kossuth, Vienna rose in revolt again; Latour, the war-minister, was murdered by the mob who demanded the cessation of hostilities against the Magyars. Ferdinand fled to Olmutz but Windischgrätz with the help of the Croats besieged Vienna and reduced it. Emperor Ferdinand now abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph (Dec. 2, 1848).

The revolution at Prague crushed.

Declaration of the Hungarian War.

Ferdinand's abdication.

The new emperor now entrusted Windischgrätz with the task of reducing Hungary. The Hungarians refused to accept Ferdinand's abdication, and carried on the government in his name. But when the Austrian army approached, they continually retreated by the advice of Kossuth till Pesth was occupied. An indecisive battle was next fought at *Kapolna* (1849) and the Hungarians further retired to the river *Theiss* where a number of battles were fought and the Austrians were repulsed. The Hungarians now recovered Pesth, stormed Buda, and proclaimed Hungary independent (April 1849). Czar Nicholas, alarmed lest the success of the Hungarians might incite a rising among his own discontented subjects in Poland, came to help Austria. Kossuth carried on a desperate guerilla warfare against the invaders, but at last dissensions between the military and civil leaders in Hungary led to the collapse of the revolt. Hungary lost all constitutional freedom and became a vassal state of Austria. Kossuth

Battle of Kapolna.

Hungarian independence proclaimed.

Intervention of Russia.

Collapse of the Hungarian revolt, and its result.

escaped to Turkey and died in exile at Turin in 1894. Thus the reaction completely triumphed in Austro-Hungary.

The Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 compared :

Establishment of Constitutionalism and middle-class rule in 1830 :

(a) In France, the July Revolution of 1830 had left no great social or legislative changes behind it. It had only transferred the administrative power from the hands of the reactionary 'Royalists' to those of the 'Constitutionalists,' and changed the 'absolute' monarchy into a 'constitutional' one ;—it thus led to the triumph of 'onstitutionalism,' and made the monarchy a 'middle-class monarchy' by transferring the political power from the nobles to the middle class.

Triumph of Republicanism and Socialism in 1848.

The Revolution of 1848 on the other hand marked the triumph of 'Republicanism' as well as 'Socialism' in France. It clearly established the 'Sovereignty of the People' and gave the verdict that the 'socialists' had every right to claim an increasing social and political benefit for the people. It gave the people of France a republican constitution so that they might have a full share in the executive as well as in the legislature, and a full power and scope to work out the evolution of their social and political institutions. It made the State identical with the Nation.

(b) The Revolution of 1830 in France had been followed by revolutions in Belgium, Poland and Italy, and a struggle for constitutional government in the states of Germany. The results had been that only Belgium obtained a limited national monarchy and the lesser

German states obtained liberal constitutions, while Poland and Italy fell within the grips of a barbarous reaction, and the people of Austria, Prussia, and other larger states continued in their sullen submission to absolutism. The revolutions of 1830 taught Europe that the kings are the 'legitimate' rulers of their subjects, and the subjects had no rights and privileges to claim, except what would be given to them of their own accord by their rulers. Thus during the Liberal movements of 1830, the subject-classes obtained no sympathy from their rulers, who tried to establish their governments more or less upon military force and not upon affection of the people.

Doctrine of
'Legitimacy'
confirmed
in 1830 :

The Revolution of 1848 in France, was followed by a convulsion throughout Central Europe. The communities in Germany began to feel a national impulse which no pressure of arbitrary power could extinguish, and which led them to attempt to secure the unity of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Similar attempt was made by the Italian patriots for the unity of Italy ; Hungary felt the same breath of patriotism and claimed the right of self-government. Though the Liberal movements failed in Germany and Italy, they gave a considerable impulse to the realisation of German and Italian unity. This impulse came from the co-operation of two powerful princes, the kings of Prussia and Sardinia with their subjects and the patriots in general. European people now could boast that they had rights and privileges to claim from their rulers, and reactionary princes staggered at them.

Feeling of
National
impulse
in 1848.

CHAPTER II.

France since the Second Republic.

Rule of the Socialists, and Struggle with the Republicans :

Influence
of the
Socialists
in the
provisional
government.

We have noticed that a provisional government was set up under Lamartine and France was declared a Republic after Louis Philippe's abdication (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. I.*). In the government, the Socialists, who had played an important part in the overthrow of the monarchy, secured a representation and formed an important wing of the republican section. They had such a powerful voice in the government that they got the so-called "right to labour" proclaimed, and "national workshops" were established where the unemployed of Paris obtained a guarantee of living in the service of the state.

The
National
Assembly
and its
attack
on the
Socialists.

In May, 1848, a new National Assembly, which met to frame a constitution for the Republic, dismissed Lamartine's provisional government and took control of the state. The object of the National Assembly, which was full of peace-loving republicans, in doing it was to purge off socialistic influence from the government and win Paris back to peace and order from the disorders created by the turbulent Socialists. Many Socialists were imprisoned and in the month of June the "national workshops," the strongholds of the Socialists, were dissolved. The Socialists then barricaded them-

selves in the eastern side of Paris, and resisted, from June 23 to June 26, the troops of General Cavaignac who had been vested with dictatorial powers by the Assembly to deal with the trouble. However, the Socialists were put down after a tremendous slaughter.

Suppression of the Socialist insurrection in Paris.

Constitution of the Second Republic :

The National Assembly now framed a republican constitution. The legislative function was entrusted to a single Chamber. All artificial restrictions on franchise were removed, every man of 23 obtaining a vote and every man of 25 being qualified for election. The number of deputies was fixed at 750. The executive authority was vested in a President, elected directly by the people for a period of four years, and a committee of five members. On Dec. 20, Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon Bonaparte, became universally elected as President of the Republic of France. The election of Louis Napoleon showed that though France had a republican constitution, a large number of her people liked the principles of Monarchy.

Constitution of 1848 : principle of universal suffrage adopted.

Louis Napoleon elected President of the Republic.

Policy of Louis Napoleon :

His aim was to abolish the Republic and to revive the Monarchy. For this, he sought the support of the peasants, the priests, and the army. His imperial design became apparent when he, to carry favour with the Roman Catholic priests and peasantry of France, did not even hesitate to overthrow the Roman Republic of Mazzini and Garibaldi (June, 1848). He then began to undermine systematically the constitution of the Republic of France, by dismissing the

His idea of reviving the Monarchy and his reactionary measures.

republican ministers or members of the executive committee, by appointing obscure and docile ones in their place, and by arbitrarily reducing the number of the electors by three millions.

His Coup d'etat of 1851 :

On Dec. 2, 1851 (the anniversary of *Austerlitz*), to give a decided and sudden blow to the Republic, Louis Napoleon imprisoned such eminent persons as Cavaignac, Thiers, and Victor Hugo, proclaimed the National Assembly dissolved, and appealed to the nation to choose him President for ten years and to recast the constitution on the model of the 18th Brumaire. The nation accepted his proposal by a plebiscite and elected him President for ten years. But exactly a year after this *Coup d'etat*, he assumed the title of Emperor Napoleon III.

Constitution
of Jan. 14,
1852 made
France
an Empire.

The Second Empire (1852-70) :

The fall of the Republic of 1848 meant the defeat of the revolutionary principles, which the new emperor tried to suppress completely in France by an organised system of espionage, by muzzling the press, and by diverting the energy of the restless people of France to wars against foreign nations. The splendours of the court were revived, Paris was beautified, and magnificent fetes were celebrated.

Reign of
Napoleon III.

Domestic
measures.

Foreign
wars.

Napoleon III now joined England in the 'Crimean War' which was waged in 1854 against Russia ; but little did he gain for France when the *Peace of Paris* closed the war in 1856 (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. V.*). He sided at first, with the Italian patriots in the national war waged by them in 1859 against

Austria, but afterwards deserted to the Austrian side. He picked a quarrel with the king of Prussia, and the great 'Franco-Prussian War' (1870-71) began (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. IV*). The French army was defeated at every point and the Emperor himself was made prisoner at *Sedan*. While he managed to fly to England, the Prussian army occupied Paris (1871). The Parisians, who had already declared France a Republic made peace with Prussia at *Frankfort* by giving her a large war-indemnity, Alsace, and the north-eastern part of Lorraine.

Thus, ended Louis Napoleon's political career, plunging him and his country into misery, and France once more became a republic,—the Third Republic.

Napoleon I and Napoleon III : a Comparison and Contrast :

Napoleon Bonaparte rose to the position of an Emperor from the humble rank of an artillery officer through his sheer dint of merit and extraordinary power of choosing the best instruments. His nephew Louis Napoleon became Emperor through sheer chance and conspiracy (so to call his *Coup d'état*). He had no genius of his uncle, no power of choosing the best methods of success. Napoleon I won the love and admiration of all classes of the French people, and therefore, his throne was safe. But Napoleon III was liked neither by the republicans nor by the royalists, neither by the nobility nor by the middle class. He had to seek the support of the peasants, the army, and the clergy to make his throne safe. Napoleon I founded progressive institutions and fostered them, and became the leader of young and progressive

Comparison and contrast about—
(a) their genius ;

(b) their popular sympathy ;

(c) their party-leadership.

(d) their
strength of
mind.

Europe, but Napoleon III, as he was a socialist in possession of absolute power, always apprehended attacks both from the socialists and absolutists, because he was not expected to fulfil the dreams of either of them. So while Napoleon I, being the leader of a powerful section of European people, had a firm determination in what he did, Napoleon III, being leader of no party, had much vacillation in him. He could trust no party, and therefore, tried his best to save his throne by diverting men's minds from his degraded and corrupt government to excitements of foreign wars; but his policy wrought his ruin.

The Third Republic (1870-) :

Progress
of France
under the
third
Republic.

The constitution of the Third Republic, which met under its first President Thiers was not definitely settled till 1875, when two chambers, an elective Senate and a Chamber of Deputies, were created. Since then the cause of the Republic has steadily advanced, and all hopes of the Bourbon and the Bonaparte claimants to the throne have been extinguished since their expulsion from France in 1886. France has gloriously participated in all the literary activities and the industrial and scientific undertakings of the age, and, to recover her lost provinces of Alsace-Lorraine, has joined her hands with England and Russia in the present 'Great War'.

CHAPTER III.

England since the Battle of Waterloo.

Chief Features of the Period :

The history of England since 1815 is a history chiefly of five broad national movements regarding the progress of Democracy, the Humanitarian movement, the progress of Religious equality, the Irish problems, and the question of the Expansion of England.

Progress of the Democracy :

Since the Revolution of 1688, the elective branch of the Parliament rested upon a very narrow electorate, chiefly consisting of the rich upper classes. The Tories, though they acknowledged the Sovereignty of the Parliament were opposed to any change. It was the Whigs who became the champions of democratic principles and wanted to make the king dependent upon the Parliament, and the Parliament dependent upon the people.

The Whigs as champions of democracy.

Towards the close of the 18th century, some statesmen of liberal ideas, notably Pitt the Younger, began to urge reform in the electoral system. The French Revolution at first gave a fresh impulse to those liberal tendencies, but the wild excesses of the revolutionists terrified the English Liberals, and the democratic movement, being looked upon with distrust, was given up for the time being. But England's industrial development, resulting from fortunate mechanical inventions, together with the grow-

Effects of the French Revolution on the English Liberals.

Revival of democratic sentiments.

ing enlightenment of the people, revived the democratic sentiments and led to a widespread demand for political reform.

Difference in
treatments
of the
liberal
aspirations
in England
and on the
continent.

While on the continent Liberal movements, born out of the French Revolution, were dealt with by the iron hands of despots and Liberalism could triumph at last only through revolutions, in England the government made timely concessions to the growing spirit of Democracy. Thus in the 19th century, we have, instead of a series of revolutions, a series of reform measures, which, gradually popularising the House of Commons, at last made the English people a really self-governing nation.

The
Reform Bill
of 1832.

These reform measures are the *Reform Bills* of 1832, 1867, and 1884. In 1830 the 'July Revolution' of France gave force to the reform movement in England and led to the passing of the Reform Act of 1832. The Act may be called '*the Magna Charta of English political democracy*'. By it the English electoral system was radically changed. Eighty-six of the decayed boroughs, "rotten boroughs" as they were called, were disfranchised or semi-disfranchised, their seats were distributed amongst countries and large towns hitherto unrepresented, and the right to vote was extended to additional classes of citizens. The *Reform Act* of 1832, enfranchised only the middle classes and did nothing for the industrial and farming classes of the population. So these discontented people started an agitation, called '*Chartism*', demanding universal suffrage, vote by ballot etc. The movement, became violent in 1848—the year of European Revolutions. Though it was suppressed, it gave birth to the *Reform Act* of 1867. This

'*Chartism*'
and its
suppression.

measure enfranchised the great 'fourth estate,' by largely extending the right of voting. It was taking no 'leap in the dark' to admit the lower classes to a share in the government. Lord Derby's apprehension has proved to be false. The *Reform Act* of 1832 next increased the number of voters from about three millions to five millions, as it was more radical and sweeping in its provisions than any preceding one. It gave England almost universal suffrage.

Reform Bill
of 1867.

Reform Bill
of 1884.

The Humanitarian Movement :

The ideal of Liberty has been given a new meaning to by the French Revolution. It means freedom not of one's own self but of all. It is Catholic in sympathy. "The law of God," wrote Mazzini, "has not two weights and two measures: Christ came for all: He spoke to all: He died for all.....we protest, then, against all inequality, against all oppression, wheresoever it is practised.....This forms the essence of what men have agreed to call the Democratic movement." This new ideal of Liberty led to the "consciousness of the claims of human weakness". Slavery in the British colonies was abolished by an Act in 1833. The traffic in human flesh is now penalised. The criminal in the prison and the insane in the Asylum are humanely treated. A growing sense of corporate responsibility towards the poor has led to the establishment of such philanthropic institutions as Hospitals, Alms-houses, People's Palaces etc., and to the introduction of such systems as Old Age pensions, Insurance against unemployment etc. The labour has been saved from the exploitation of the Plutocrat by the *Factory legislations* of Shaftes-

The new
ideal of
'Liberty'.

The
humani-
tarian legis-
lations.

bury. Other legislations e.g. Peel's *Repeal of the Corn-laws* etc., have cheapened his food, improved his dwellings and enabled him to work out his own salvation. Laws have improved the conditions of child-labour, restrained the cruelty of parents and have placed elementary education within the reach of every child.

Change in
the ideal of
womanhood.

The ideal of womanhood has undergone a remarkable change. In the 18th century, woman's mental inferiority was taken for granted. She was treated rather with gallantry than with respect. Education was denied to her, lest she would be a troublesome wife or cease to be a woman. Divines gravely discussed the question whether woman had a soul. Marriage was regarded as the only object of her existence. Her only duty was to please man. For this she was to be educated, if to be educated at all, dressed and launched in society. The great wave of democratic and humanitarian feeling that passed over English life in the 19th century prepared the minds of men to receive the message of the emancipation of women. It has come to be recognised that woman would be true woman when all the latent possibilities of her nature—physical, mental, and moral—would be fully developed. Schools and colleges, institutes of science, literature, and philosophy are now open to her. Her position in society has improved and is improving. She has realised her mission and purpose in life—that she is an end as well as a means, she has duties to herself as well as to others. No doubt, the Suffragist puts forward extravagant claims, and we hear to-day about the unsexing of woman. But such a thing is the fruit of long ages of repression

Emancipa-
tion of
women.

which must disappear in a free condition of society. Look to the other side of the shield—the 'Sisters of Mercy' ministering, like angels, to the suffering humanity in Europe's fields of battle!

Progress of the Principle of Religious Equality :

"Liberty and Equality, though united in the revolutionary banner of 1793, often appear in irreconcilable antagonism". If, however, Liberty be catholic in sympathy and if Equality means every man's consciousness of kinship with others which is alien to the spirit of caste, the two ideals are not inconsistent. If this be true, the statement that at the opening of the 19th century there was in England "religious freedom, but no religious equality" can be understood easily. At the opening of that century, one might be a Catholic or a Protestant Dissenter without any breach of law or fear of persecution, but certain public offices were closed against him for his so doing. Where there was such discrimination against any religious sect, or where any one sect was favoured by the government, there could be no religious equality, although there might be religious freedom. A true sense of religious toleration, however, dawned upon the English mind through the *Methodists* who began to demand the removal of all civil disabilities from the Protestant Dissenters by largely increasing their numbers. These disabilities of the Protestant Dissenters, were removed by the *Repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts* (1828). The Catholics and the Jews, who got no relief, demanded similar concessions ; and the dis-

Existence
of religious
freedom,
but no
religious
equality.

The
effects of
Methodism.

Acts
leading to
religious
equality.

abilities were gradually removed from the Catholics by the passing of the *Catholic Emancipation Act* (1829), and from the Jews by the *Jewish Relief Act* (1858). Forty years after the Catholic Emancipation Act, the English government took another great step in the direction of religious equality, and this by the *Disestablishment of the State-Church* in Ireland. The vast majority of the Irish people who were Catholics in religion had to pay tithes and fees for the maintenance of the English Church in Ireland in which they did not believe. This rank injustice of forcing the Anglican church-worship upon the Irish Catholics was actually felt by such liberal statesmen as Bright and Gladstone, under whose lead the measure for the disestablishment of the Irish church was carried in 1869. The Irish church henceforth came to be a free Episcopal church.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church 1869.

Irish Problems :

The history of Ireland in the 19th century is mainly a story of Irish grievances against England. These grievances arose out of three distinct yet closely related subjects—religion, Home Rule, and the land. Concerning religious grievances and their redress we have already spoken. We should now deal with the Home Rule and land questions.

The Three Irish grievances.

Irish Home Rule Movement :

The *Act of Union* passed in 1800 merged the Irish Parliament, sitting at Dublin, in the Parliament at Westminster, and Ireland was given representation in the latter. Irish patriots, who did not like this union, started an agitation for its repeal. In the early forties, the agi-

Agitation for the Repeal of the Union.

tation under the guidance of Daniel O' Connell assumed the character of a rebellion. In the sixties, it was carried to the point of actual insurrection under the name of *Fenianism* which was suppressed. It was not long before, the Irish question again came to the front. In 1886 when William Gladstone, the Liberal statesman, became Prime minister for the third time, he introduced in the Commons a Home Rule bill for Ireland. The aim of the bill was to create an Irish legislature at Dublin which was to deal with Irish affairs exclusively. The bill was rejected by the Commons and Gladstone had to retire. The agitation, however, continued. And when Gladstone became Prime minister for the fourth time (1892), he brought in a new *Home Rule Bill* in 1893 essentially alike his first. It passed the Commons but was rejected by the Lords. Gladstone died in 1898, and with him the cause of Irish Home Rule seemed to have gone to the grave. The conservative ministry of Lord Salisbury, however, passed an *Act creating Local Councils* in Ireland (1898), to satisfy Irish aspirations partially. But this was "to kill Home Rule with kindness," no doubt. However the cry for Home Rule has not been 'killed', Fenianism has been re-born in *Sin-fenism*, and the present 'Great War' has made the issues rather grave and serious.

Gladstone
and the
Home
Rule Bill.

Irish Local
government
Act, 1898.

'Sin
Fienism.'

Irish Land Questions :

So much clamour of Irish patriots for a separate Irish legislature was partially due to agrarian troubles. The greater part of Ireland was owned by absent and oppressive English landlords and the majority of the Irish people

Agrarian
troubles.

Irish Land
Laws.

Irish Land
Purchase
Bill.

were their tenants, whose grievances were never heard and whose sufferings under oppression knew no bounds. To alleviate the distress of the Irish tenants, the British Parliament passed a long series of *Land laws*—some of these to secure for the tenant fair, reasonable, and fixed rent, and to protect him against unjust eviction, and others to secure for the evicted tenant compensation for improvements made by him upon the land. But the *Irish Land Purchase Bill* of 1903 is the most important, as, by it, the government pays a part of the purchase price when the tenant purchases his own holding. Should this measure be carried into full effect, it would convert half a million of tenants into proprietors.

Expansion of England :

English
Expansion
—what it
means?

The expansion of England in the 19th century does not merely mean the conquest of foreign lands beyond the seas. It means new conquests no doubt, but also consolidation, and reorganisation of colonies and countries gained in the 18th century with an increased interest in them and with reference to the new, rich, and progressive civilisation born out of Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution. Mr. Disraeli, the famous English minister, referring to England's colonial possessions, once said—"Those wretched colonies are millstones about our neck." This he said because England lost her thirteen colonies of North America before the end of the 18th century and other colonies were constant sources of England's great anxiety and trouble. But before the close of the 19th century, there sprang up a most extra-ordinary revival of

England's interest in colonies and dependencies. This revival of interest may be traced to the following causes—(a) the rapid increase in population, which began to inundate the colonies; (b) the industrial revolution of the 18th century, which made England dependant upon her colonies and dependencies for the supply of raw materials and for the largest sale of her manufactures; (c) the vast and new fields of industrial and mining enterprise which the colonies and dependencies opened up to England; (d) the growing sense of responsibility to inferior races which the idea of equality fostered; and (e) the new idea of Imperialism, or Federation of the Empire.

In North America, England lost her thirteen colonies owing to her irresponsible government there (1776). Still half of North America (Canada) remained in her hands. To consolidate it, England gave to her provinces *Responsible government* (1841). In 1867, the Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were united under the name of the Dominion of Canada. The Dominion's constitution, save as to the federal principle, is modelled after the British. The Dominion has become England's tower of strength and a great home of the Anglo-Saxon race with her inexhaustible mineral deposits, unrivalled fisheries, limitless wheat fields, her free institutions and bracing climate.

Australia and New Zealand were discovered, and possessed in England's name by Captain Cook (1769-1771). Agricultural riches of the new islands, their bracing climate, and the discovery of rich gold fields in them soon drew a stream of English immigrants in the 19th century, New

Causes of their expansion in the 19th century.

England in America.

the Dominion of Canada, and its constitution.

England in Australasia:

Zealand became a rich colony and five flourishing colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and West Australia) sprang up in Australia, with free institutions. All the colonies received responsible governments and just at the opening of the 20th century the colonies of Australia have become a federal union—the Commonwealth of Australia. These colonies have proved England's source of strength in danger.

the
Common-
wealth of
Australia.

England
in Asia.

The
Depend-
ency
of India.

India and
the present
war.

England in
Africa :

In Asia, England founded the British Empire in India in the 18th century. Throughout the 19th century she steadily advanced her frontiers here by land and sea, consolidated her power, and expanded her commercial market. All these involved her in several foreign wars, the most important of which are the Afghan Wars, the Opium War with China (1839-42), and also the Crimean War. In 1857 broke out the Sepoy Mutiny which led to the transference of the government of India from the hands of the East India Company to the English Crown. Since then India is being ruled by England peacefully in the interests of that country, and three hundred millions of her population are living happily and most loyally under the wardship of that European kingdom. In the present 'Great War', Loyal India has thrown open all her resources, money and men alike, to England, and England has promised her in return the '*progressive realisation of a Responsible government*' in that country. Japan has also become a faithful ally of England in Asia.

Over Egypt, England and France established a dual protectorate in 1876. In 1882, France retiring, England became her sole protector. Since then Egypt has wonderfully advanced in

civilisation and wealth. During the present *Great War*, Egypt has shaken away Turkey's nominal suzerainty and has become a Sultanate under England's protection. She controls the Suez—the key to the Indian ocean. In Africa, England however played a great part in its partition with other European powers in the 19th century and got the lion's share of the spoils. Cape Colony, Natal, dependencies which England established in West, East, and Central Africa were linked with the Transvaal and Orange River states—the lands of the Boers, after the great Boer War, forming a vast empire. The South African States however have been given, very recently, a federal constitution, and the federal union goes by the name of the South African Union. Besides, in course of the present '*Great War*', most of the German colonies in Africa have come under the possession of England.

Scramble
for Africa.

Now England's sceptre rules her colonies and dependencies, inhabited by diverse races and speaking various languages; her colonies have been given democratic forms of governments; her dependencies, specially India, though have not yet obtained any democratic constitution, should get it in no far time. India has been given a place in the councils of the Empire, and her political institutions, rapidly developing, are moving towards the democratic ideal. The highest ideal of British and Colonial politicians is to establish a great Federal Parliament, after the present '*Great War*,' in which representatives from the British as well as the Colonial Parliaments should sit to discuss Imperial questions. The War Cabinet of the British dominions that is sitting in England

Idea of the
British
Federal
Parliament.

British
Empire or
World
Federation.

from time to time has partially fulfilled the idea, and if this be finally accomplished, the great British Empire would really grow to be a *World Federation*, unknown in the history of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

The Union of Italy and of Germany.

I. Union of Italy :

A New Generation of Italian Politicians :

After the various attempts to achieve the freedom and unity of Italy had failed, a new generation of Italian politicians devoted themselves to find out the best plan for national organisation. Three sets of politicians arrived at three sorts of conclusions :—

The three groups of politicians, and their methods.

(1) *The party of 'Giovane Italia' or 'Young Italy,'* founded by Joseph Mazzini, decided that the 'resurrection of Italy' (*Il Risorgimento d' Italia*) rested on the expulsion of the foreigners and the unity of Italy under a strong centralised republic because no other form of government would satisfy Italian reason or tradition. Mazzini considered that it was useless to expect help from Catholicism in the work of 'regeneration' and advocated a purer religion so that Rome might once more assume the leadership of the world. "Great ideas," he said, "must precede great actions." He, therefore, 'believed in the use of bayonets, but only on condition that they have ideas at their point.' His party was therefore *philosophic* in its aims.

Mazzini and the 'Young Italy'.

(2) *The party of Reformers,* founded by Cavour, a Piedmontese noble, who wanted to attain 'unity' by producing a 'national' feeling through their writings and practical works, and

Cavour and the 'Reformers'.

hoped to secure 'liberty' by expelling Austria and her petty vassals from Italy with the help of Sardinia. This party was *practical* in its character.

The 'Papal party'.

(3) *The Papal party*, founded by Vincenzo Gioberti, desired that the different states of Italy should be formed into a confederation under the leadership of the Pope, which would bring 'unity,' and the beneficial influence of the Pope over the confederation would lead to 'freedom'. This party brought forward the problem of Italian union most conspicuously.

Policy of Victor Emmanuel II, and of his Minister Cavour :

Sardinia, the only pilot of hope.

Since the suppression of the revolts of 1848, the Italian states were groaning under the tyranny of Austria and her petty vassals, while Sardinia-Piedmont came to be regarded by the patriots as the only pilot of hope. Victor Emmanuel II, the king of Sardinia, was an advocate of civil liberty, and his minister, Cavour, devoted himself to a patriotic administration. In spite of the Austrian offer of assistance to establish despotism in Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel had set himself from the very first to maintain the constitution granted by his father and to free Italy from foreign domination. He developed trade and industry in his dominions by removing the antiquated restrictions, and by construction of roads and railways. In all these Emmanuel was helped by his minister Cavour, who soon became the helmsman of Italian affairs. According to his advice, Sardinia now sided with England and France in the Crimean War which broke out in 1852 (*Vide Bk. V.*

Cavour, the helmsman of Italian affairs.

Ch. V.) and obtained their friendship. At the *Congress of Paris* (1856), Cavour, who represented Sardinia, explained to the assembled Powers the evils of Italy arising from foreign domination, and enlisted their sympathies.

But to expel Austria from Italy was a He difficult affair. To do this, Cavour foresaw, not only the sympathies of powerful states, but also the need of their practical assistance. So, he proceeded cautiously to secure the help of Napoleon III of France, and, in 1858, made with him a close alliance, known as the *Compact of Plombieres*. By it, it was arranged that Lombardy and Venice were to be annexed to Sardinia to form a kingdom of Northern Italy, and that France, in consideration of her service, was to receive Savoy and Nice from Sardinia.

perceived
the necessity
of foreign
assistance
for the
liberation
of Italy.
Compact of
Plombieres,
1858.

The Austro-Sardinian War (1859-60) :

A war between Sardinia aided by France, and Austria thus became imminent. The neutral powers, however, tried to avert the war by suggesting a European congress ; but Cavour exerted all his diplomacy to prevent a compromise and at the same time to put Austria in the position of the aggressor. Austria, fortunately, refused to take part in the congress if Sardinia would not be excluded from its sittings, and at once ordered Sardinia to disarm. On her refusal, Austria invaded her territory (1859). Thus, broke out the war which Cavour had eagerly desired, and Sardinia excited the sympathies of Europe. Napoleon III came in person to assist Sardinia. Garibaldi, a native of Nice, who had also taken part in the uprising in Rome in 1848, now organised a body of

Outbreak of
the war.

French
assistance
to Sardinia.

volunteers, the '*Hunters of the Alps*,' who began to harass the Austrians at the foot of the Alps.

Victories of
the allies.

By the two great victories of *Magenta* and *Solferino* (1859), France and Sardinia drove the Austrian troops from Lombardy. All Italy was filled with tyrants ; all prayed for the success of French and Sardinian arms. But the fire of joy soon became quenched, when Napoleon III all on a sudden, signed the *Truce of Villa Franca* (1859) with Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria in which it was agreed that Sardinia would get Lombardy, Austria would retain Venice, the smaller princes were to be restored, and Italy was to be a federal state under the presidency of the Pope. Napoleon had entered into this treaty under pressure of French public opinion which dreaded the building up of a strong and powerful Italy close on the borders of France. Cavour urged Emmanuel to repudiate the treaty, but he prudently declined : Cavour heart-broken for the moment, resigned.

Truce of
Villa
Franca.

Cavour's
opposition.

Peace with
Austria.

By the peace which followed, Sardinia formally obtained Lombardy, and had to give Venice to Austria, and Savoy and Nice to France. But Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and Romagna, which had on the news of the victories besought Victor Emmanuel to be united with his kingdom, now became formally annexed to Sardinia to form a kingdom of Northern Italy (1860). *The shore of Italian Regeneration now came within view.*

Formation
of the
Northern
Italian
kingdom.

Completion of the Union :

The first step in the unification of Italy being taken, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour (who had returned to the ministry), now secretly permitted

Garibaldi with his famous '*Hunters of the Alps*', Garibaldi to harass the Austrians in the Alpine regions, and his and to fit out an expedition against the kingdom of Naples. Garibaldi, with his noble band of '*Hunters of the Alps*', 'thousand heroes,' landed in *Sicily* (1860), annexed. Sicily, 1860. where the patriots had risen against the tyranny of the Bourbon king of Naples, and annexed that island in the name of Victor Emmanuel. He then entered *Naples*, and the king having fled, he conquered and annexed it to the kingdom of Northern Italy (1860). In the meantime, Victor Emmanuel's troops invaded and conquered the Papal dominions of *Umbria* and *the Marches* where rebellions had broken out.

Garibaldi in Naples.
Conquest of the Papal States.

Thus 'the kingdom of Northern Italy' almost became 'the kingdom of Italy,' Venice in the north and Rome in the centre still remaining to be conquered. Victor Emmanuel and Cavour thought it prudent to consolidate what they had conquered and not to launch immediately on a hazardous war with Austria and France by attempting to conquer Venice and Rome, as the former was an Austrian possession, and the latter a Papal possession protected by French troops since the overthrow of Mazzini's Roman Republic in 1848. In Feb. 1861 the first Italian Parliament met at Turin and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel 'King of Italy'. Cavour suddenly died in June, 1861, seeing his hopes almost realised. His master waited patiently for auspicious moments when the union of Italy would be completed by the conquests of Venice and Rome.

Victor Emmanuel King of United Italy.

The auspicious moments at last came. In 1866, when the Austro-Prussian War broke out (Vide poste), Italy sided with Prussia and though

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866.

and
the Franco-
Prussian
War of
1870
completed
the union
of Italy.

her army was severely beaten at *Custoza* and her fleet signally defeated near *Lissa* by Austria, the glorious Prussian victory of *Sadowa* was enough to secure Venice for Italy at the *Peace of Vienna* which concluded the war. Again, in 1870, with the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War when France had to withdraw her troops from Rome, Italy seized the opportunity to occupy Rome, the 'Eternal City,' which henceforth became the capital of united Italy.

The Union of Italy was now complete and the shore of Italian regeneration was reached.

The Position of the Papacy :

The occupation of Rome by the Italian government ended the temporal power of the Pope long exercised by him. His activities became confined within the 'Vatican' palace, and by the '*Law of the Papal Guarantees*' (1871) he was secured in the free exercise of his spiritual functions. But he was not to be considered as a subject of the Italian government, rather his position became that of a sovereign residing at Rome with a right to send and to receive embassies. This anomalous position of the Pope has led to his attitude of hostility towards the Italian government, and has no less hampered the latter in carrying out many of its policies of reform.

Pope Pius IX who lost the temporal power of the Papacy died in 1898, and was followed in the Pontificate by Leo XIII who won a name as the greatest and the best of the Popes and died at the ripe old age of ninety-three (1903). Pius X succeeded in the Papacy.

An Estimate of Cavour :

Endowed with a pronounced political genius.

and a rare foresight, the statesman, Cavour, had clearly realised the necessity of a united Italy free from foreign domination. The July revolution of 1830 in France greatly influenced his political ideas, and instead of adopting the doctrinaire liberalism of the time he began to advocate the cause of constitutional reforms in Italy. His views were strengthened with his study of the British constitution of which he was an admirer. A moderate liberal in his ideas, Cavour was never a political dreamer ; while Mazzini wished to liberate Italy solely through education and arms, Cavour perceived that Italy could not be free without foreign assistance. He made an adroit use of Napoleon III in the cause of his country, and he cleverly evaded the Treaty of Villa Franca and persuaded Garibaldi, 'the Knight-errant of Italian independence' to make his master king of united Italy. In his domestic policy a believer in progress, he encouraged trade and education, and used the principles of constructive statesmanship to unite the various states of Italy into one homogeneous whole. 'A free church in a free state' was his motto, and he devoted his whole sole and energy to its achievement ; and although other men and other forces co-operated in the movement, it was Cavour who organized it and skilfully removed all obstacles from its way which led to its ultimate success. Thus, he was "undoubtedly the greatest figure of the *Risorgimento*," and his death in 1861 at the early age of fifty-one was an immense loss to Italy. The great English statesman, Lord Palmerstone, has rightly remarked of him, "the man will live . . . eternally in history; and

(a) Cavour,
an advocate
of consti-
tutional
reforms :

(b) Differ-
ence
between
Cavour and
Mazzini :

(c) Domestic
policy of
Cavour :

(d) Success
of Cavour.

premature as his death may seem, and indeed is, and deeply as it may have shaken the hopes of his fellow citizens, it has not come too early for his glory."

Italy since the Union :

Since the 'Union' much has been done for the progress of Italy. By suppressing brigandage, by constructing railways, by tunneling the Alps, by improving the systems of drainage in the more insanitary districts of Campagna &c., by introducing a public system of education and thereby regenerating the masses from their deep moral degradation, Italy has been raised to the position of a great European power. Victor Emmanuel II died in 1878, and was succeeded by his son Humbolt I. Humbolt followed an ill-advised colonial policy in Africa and was anticipated by the French government in establishing a protectorate over Tunis. This led Italy to nourish ill-will against France and to enter the *Triple Alliance* with Germany and Austria (1882), which alliance however has proved fatal to her interests in the present 'Great War'. Italy has again joined her hands with France, England and Russia for the liberation of Europe from German militarism.

II. Union of Germany :

The Earlier Efforts for German Unity :

In 1818, Prussia, had become the centre of a commercial union among the German states, called the *Zollverein*, by which none of the members could levy any duty on merchandise passing from one state to another. During the

The
Zollverein
—first step
towards
unity.

German Liberal movement of 1830, Prussia, however, as a member of the 'Holy Alliance' had tried to suppress the movement for the freedom and union of Germany, though at the time she was unconsciously working out the union of that country by fostering the *Zollverein*. In course of the popular attempts of 1848 to form a German Federal State under a common Emperor and common Parliament, Prussia had consented to take the leadership abandoning the 'Holy Alliance' and adopting the principles of constitutionalism; but she failed in her attempt owing to the jealousy of Austria against her and began to wait for an auspicious moment to realise her dream of leadership in Germany.

Attempts
of Prussia
to effect
the unity
in 1848.

The moment presented itself in 1866, when the Schleswig-Holstein problem came to be solved on the point of bayonet.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question (1864) :

In 1863 Frederic VII, king of Denmark and Duke of the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, died, and was succeeded by his kinsman Christian IX of Denmark. Christian was recognised as duke by the two duchies without a murmur. But when he tried to incorporate them directly with Denmark, the inhabitants of the two duchies, who were German in origin and who had their separate laws and constitution offered vehement opposition. Their brethren in Germany began to sympathise with them. Bismarck, the Prussian minister, induced both Prussia and Austria to interfere in the Schleswig-Holstein question. Accordingly, in 1864, Prussian and Austrian troops entered the duchies and compelled Denmark to leave them in their hands.

Joint action
of Austria
and Prussia
against
Denmark.

Cession of
the Duchies
to the two
Powers.

The Austro-Prussian War, 1866 :

Tension
between
Austria and
Prussia.

Battle of
Sadowa—
Austria's
'Waterloo'.

Acquisitions
of Prussia
—her
leadership
in Germany
recognised.

Establish-
ment of the
North
German
Confedera-
tion by
Bismarck.

Now that the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were conquered, a quarrel arose, on the division of the spoils, between Prussia and Austria. The quarrel developed into a war in 1866. Italy sided with Prussia on receiving hopes from Bismarck to get Venice in return, while Bavaria, Hanover, Saxony, and most of the other German states sided with Austria. The contest though seemed to be an unequal one, Prussia with her best disciplined army, equipped with breach-loading needle-guns, and headed by the great commander Von Moltke, occupied Hesse-Cassel and Saxony, and within seven weeks won a decisive victory over the Austrians and her allies at *Sadowa* (July, 1866). The Prussians now pushing on towards Vienna, Emperor Francis Joseph sued for peace, and by the *Peace of Prague* Austria agreed to withdraw from the old German confederation (*Statenbund*), ceded Venice to Italy, allowed Prussia to arrange the new constitution for the German states and gave her the possessions of Hanover, Nassau, and most of the other North German states which had been all hostile to Prussia, as also Schleswig and Holstein.

Thus Austria being shut out from Germany and the hostile Northern States being conquered, Bismarck saw that there was nothing to bar Prussia from taking the leadership in Germany. He replaced the old useless *Statenbund* by the North German confederation (1867) consisting of all states to the north of the Maine under the presidency of the Prussian king and with a Popular Assembly (*Reichstag*) for legislative purposes to be chosen by direct suffrage, and a

federal council (*Bundesrath*) presided over by the Prussian Chancellor. Then military service was organised on the Prussian system, and made compulsory on all citizens over seventeen years of age.

Thus while the north became united by a strong common bond, the south remained detached and feeble. But there soon happened an event which *spontaneously* united the south with the north : it was the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

The Dual Empire of Austria-Hungary :

The disasters of *Sadowa* taught Austria to realise how fatal to the Empire was the discontent and disunion of the subject people, and Emperor Francis Joseph became now ready to make concessions to the national aspirations of the Magyars and to establish a popular government. The task of reorganisation was entrusted to Count Beust, ex-minister of Saxony, who restored the old system of 'Dualism' by an agreement known as the *Ausgleich* (Compromise) : by it the Hapsburgh dominions were divided into a

Reorgani-
sation
of the
Austrian
Empire :

Austrian and a Hungarian half, each with its own Diet, one sitting at Vienna and the other at Budapesth, and each to have complete control of its own internal affairs ; joint 'Delegations' were appointed by the two Diets to decide imperial questions, and there were to be three common ministers for finance, war, and foreign relations (1867). This 'dual system' has though thus bridged over the gulf between the Hungarian people and the House of Hapsburgh, it has failed to satisfy the national aspirations of the other races or the nationalities of the monarchy of which there are many. Indeed the

Compromise
between
Austria and
Hungary.

The
dependent
races in the
monarchy,
not satis-
fied with the
'Dual
System'.

The
question
re-opened
in the
present
'Great War'.

Austro-Hungarian monarchy has proved to be a "European Tower of Babel" and the situation of the Austrian state has become precarious, as is evidenced in the present 'Great War,' by the constant demands of the Slavs for the unique position as granted to the Hungarians.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) :

Its causes :

(a) Napoleon's
jealousy of
Prussia,
due to, the
Mexican
muddle,
and the
Luxemburg
affair :

Emperor Napoleon III of France had expected to make additions to the French territory in course of the Austro-Prussian War of 1866, but he had been foiled in his plans by the rapid success of Prussia in the war and for the absence of the best French troops in Mexico on an expedition there which too proved a failure. He next tried to purchase Luxemburg from the king of Holland, but a diplomatic conference held at London through the intervention of Prussia declared Luxemburg a neutral territory. Napoleon, already indignant at the formation of a strong German Empire right on the frontier of France, now sought to humble Prussia and began to wait for a pretext.

(b) The
dynastic
crisis in
Spain,
and the
Hohenzollern
candidature :

The pretext however presented soon. When in 1869, Isabella II, the dissolute queen of Spain, fled to France at the outbreak of an internal revolt against the despotism of the *Camarilla* of priests and courtiers who advised her, the Spanish crown was offered to Prince Leopold of the Hohenzollern family ; but Leopold, to avoid displeasing Napoleon with whom he had family connections, refused the offer. Napoleon, however, interpreted the whole affair as an intrigue of Bismarck to extend Prussian authority in Europe, and, in spite of

Leopold's public renunciation of the proffered crown, sent Count Benedetti direct to King William I, then at the little watering-place of Ems, demanding an assurance from him that he would on no future occasion authorise the renewal of Prince Leopold's candidature. The king courteously refused and sent a telegram to Bismarck with permission to make such use of the message as he saw fit. Bismarck published the telegram in such a way as to convey the impression that the French ambassador had been brusquely dismissed by the Prussian king. France now declared war upon Prussia, and the states of the North German Confederation as well as those of the South, considering the cause to be a *national* one, placed their armies at the disposal of the Prussian king. Now "for the first time in centuries a united Germany marched to meet the foes of Germany".

(c) The episode of the 'Ems telegram'.

Its Incidents :

The German army under the direction of Von Moltke, defeated the French successively at *Wissenburg*, *Worth*, and *Gravelotte* and marched on Paris. On the way, the Germans, meeting a vast French army under Napoleon III (Sept. 1, 1870), at *Sedan* completely defeated it and made Napoleon III a prisoner. The German army then besieged *Paris* (Sept. 20). The people of France, who had after the capture of Napoleon, declared France a Republic (Sept. 4), began to defend Paris heroically ; but at last Paris capitulated (Jan. 30, 1871), and the *Treaty of Frankfurt* was signed (May, 10), by which France had to pay a large sum of money, and to cede Alsace and the north-eastern part of Lorraine to Germany.

German victories.

Siege and capitulation of Paris.

Treaty of Frankfurt, 1871.

Union of Germany completed :

Foundation of the German Empire—the direct result of the Franco-Prussian war.

However, before the treaty was signed at Frankfurt, the patriotic pride in the Fatherland and the strong passion for union which had been created among the southern and northern states of Germany by the great victories won by their united efforts, led them to proclaim unanimously King William of Prussia as the *Emperor of United Germany* at Versailles (Jan., 18, 1871).

Constitution of the New German Empire :

The New German constitution proclaimed.

The constitution of the North German Confederation was extended to the South German States, making United Germany a Federal State. The states of Germany now send delegates to the *Bundesrath*, and deputies, elected by the people on the basis of direct and universal suffrage, fill the *Reichstag*. Both the upper house and the lower house together make laws, being presided over by the Imperial Chancellor, appointed by the Emperor. [Bismarck became the first Imperial Chancellor.] The Emperor is the supreme executive authority in Germany.

Growing strength of Germany and the Great War of 1914.

By union Germany has become a great Power in Europe, a rival of England in the West and of Russia in the East. As on the one hand she wants to conquer the trade of England by destroying her maritime supremacy in the world, so on the other she wants to be the arbiter of the balance of power in the Balkans by destroying the military strength of Russia. This rivalry of Germany with England and Russia, as well as the wounded vanity of the French in the Franco-Prussian War are the root-causes of the present

"Great War," the issue of which is still hanging in the balance. In England's present crisis, her colonies and India have rallied round her banner—no doubt, *Britannia will ever rule the waves.*

Bismarck and Germany :

Born in 1815 and educated at the universities of Gottingen and Berlin, Otto Eduard Leopold Von Bismarck entered the estates-general of Berlin at the early age of 32 as a substitute for the representative of the Lower nobility of his district. Here he distinguished himself by vigour and resoluteness with which he defended the cause of the Monarchy against the liberals. This induced the Prussian king to appoint him as the Prussian representative at the Diet of Frankfort (1851), and to send him on diplomatic missions. He then served as ambassadors in St. Petersburg (modern *Petrogard*) and in Paris where he renewed the good understanding with Napoleon III.

Early
career of
Bismarck.

His
diplomatic
missions.

In 1862 he was appointed Minister-President and Foreign minister to the then Prussian king, William I. Since then he made it the keynote of his policy to drive Austria out of Germany, and to make Prussia the leading power there ; and the first opportunity presented itself, as we have seen, in the Schleswig-Holstein problem which led to the exclusion of Austria from Germany at the *Peace of Prague* (1866) The great Machiavellian statesman then proceeded cautiously to form a United Germany under the leadership of Prussia by organising the North German Confederation without forcing the South German states to join it ; but his leading idea came to be realised shortly after, on the outbreak of the

His
Home
policy.

Franco-Prussian War (1870). In accomplishing these ends, he largely depended on the military resources of his country and adopted a 'blood and iron' policy without caring anything for moral considerations.

His Foreign
policy.

Since the creation of the New German Empire (1871) Bismarck as the Imperial Chancellor, began to direct the foreign and home policy of the Empire, and to keep Germany sufficiently strong against France entered into a league (*the Dreikaiserbund*) with the Emperors of Austria and Russia. This *League of the Three Emperors*, however, being practically dissolved after the *Congress of Berlin* in which Bismarck presided, a *Triple Alliance* was concluded with Austria and Italy (1882) in order to protect German interests.

His domestic
reforms.

In 1884, Bismarck adopted a new policy of colonial expansion which is being still followed. He introduced Protective Tariff in Germany, which has made her a great commercial nation ; and his important Army reforms have since made Germany a military autocracy in Europe.

His
Kultur-
kampf.

He also carried on the so-called *Kulturkampf* ('war of cults') with the Roman see which was hostile to the new German Empire for giving predominance to Protestant Prussia ; laws were passed to restrain the power of the Catholic clergy which the Pope declared null and void ; but at last to secure Catholic support for some of his policies, Bismarck effected a compromise with the Papacy and the long struggle ended in crushing ultramontane arrogance (1887).

Emperor William I died in 1888 and was succeeded by his son Frederick III who too died after a short reign of three months. In 1890, Frederick's son and successor, the young

Emperor William II, brusquely dismissed him, as co-operation between these two lovers of power became impracticable when Bismarck insisted that ministers of departments should only communicate with the crown through him ; and henceforth began the personal rule of the Kaiser in Germany.

Thus, for twenty years holding his own in Germany and in the world, manipulating adroitly the threads of home and foreign policy on astute lines of action, and overcoming all opposition whether at home or abroad with an irresistible force of will, the great Imperial Chancellor stood in lonely eminence, desirous of nothing but the reality of power, not for his own sake but for the Fatherland—the United German Empire, which was his creation and for which he is rightly said to be the '*Cavour of Germany*.' He died in 1898 at the good old age of eighty-three with the satisfaction of seeing the solidarity of the German Empire.

CHAPTER V.

Russia and the Eastern Question.

Russia after the French Revolution :

Alexander I,
(1801-25).

His part
in the
French
Revolution.

Czar Alexander I (had at first been a friend of Napoleon and then his enemy. In 1807, as has been noticed, he was defeated by Napoleon and forced to accept the Treaty of Tilsit (*Vide Bk. IV. Ch. III.*). Since then he became a friend and ally of Napoleon and even joined the 'Continental system' devised by the French Emperor. But his withdrawal from the system led to a fresh rupture with Napoleon who led the fatal Moscow expedition in 1812, and since then the Czar called upon the nations of Europe to depose Napoleon and restore the peace of the world. The historic congress which met at Vienna (1815), gave birth to the doctrine of 'Legitimacy', and under its influence, the 'Holy Alliance' was formed between Czar Alexander, Emperor Francis of Austria, and Frederick William of Prussia (*Vide Bk. Ch. I.*). It is said that Alexander coming under the influence of the religious mystic Madame de Krüdener devised the idea of the 'Holy Alliance'.

His
earlier
liberal
reforms.

He had been at first a zealous advocate of liberal ideas, had granted Poland a liberal constitution, had emancipated the serfs in Livonia and Courland, and had introduced other beneficent reforms in Russia. But the organisation of the 'Holy Alliance' brought about a complete change in his policy. He became a violent absolutist and helped to crush all

popular movements for political freedom in Spain, Italy and Germany. The Russian liberals became keenly disappointed and the earlier hopes given by the Czar to grant his subjects some share in the government was never fulfilled. Metternich thus remarked of him: "His disposition was noble and his word was sacred.....but his mind and heart needed to be led and guided.....He deceived himself, and the discovery of his errors brought him to the grave."

His brother and successor, Czar Nicholas I, followed the later policy of his predecessor. "terrible incarnation of autocracy" as he was, he tried to check the progress of all the liberalising influences in Russia from Western Europe. In 1828, taking advantage of the embarrassing situation of the Sultan as a consequence of the 'War of Greek Independence', he declared war against Turkey, and marching across the Balkans forced him to sign the *Peace of Adrianople* in 1829 (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. I: 'Independence of Greece'*). Next year, 'when the Polish subjects of the Czar revolted and drove out the Russian garrison from Warsaw, he quickly suppressed the rising with a strong hand and converted Poland completely into a province of Russia. (Vide Bk. V. Ch. I: *'Revolutions of 1830: in Poland'*). The Czar also helped Austria in her fight with Hungary under the leadership of Kossuth (1848), and Hungary as made a second Poland (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. I: Revolution in Austria-Hungary*).

Change in his ideas since the 'Holy Alliance'.

Russo-Turkish War, 1828-29.

Suppression of the Polish revolt, 1830.

His assistance to Austria in Hungary, 1848.

A Change in the Eastern Policy after the Peace of Adrianople :

Since the '*Peace of Adrianople*,' Russia

Alarm at
the increase
of Russian
power
in the
Balkans.

New
attitude
of the
European
Powers.

Attempt of
Mehemet
to acquire
Syria for
himself.

Move
of the
leading
European
Powers.

Renewed
attempt of
Mehemet
to over-
throw the

came to be regarded as a great military power and the arbiter of the 'Balance of Power' in the Balkan Peninsula. But such a power of Russia and her predominant position in the Balkans, came to be considered as dangerous to the independence of the lesser states of Europe. So the European Powers changed their policy as regards Turkey. They shook off their old crusading spirit and *resolved to maintain her integrity at any cost*, so as to make her the strongest bulwark against Russian aggrandisement in the Balkans and consequent Russian expansion towards the Mediterranean (a road to India, Africa, and the Far East).

Mehemet Ali and Turkey :

Mehemet Ali, the Sultan's viceroy of Egypt, had made himself practically independent. During the 'Greek War of Independence,' he had helped the Sultan (*Vide Bk. V. Ch.I.*) and obtained the island of Candia from him. He now tried to make himself master of Syria by driving away the Sultan's viceroy from Acre. The Porte appealed to Europe for help.

Russia took this as an opportunity for her expansion in the south, and came to help the Sultan. England and France at once joined Egypt and compelled the Sultan to cede Syria to Mehemet Ali to be held as a fief. But the Czar, Nicholas I, managed to extort, at *Unkjar Skelessi*, from the Sultan an agreement to the effect that none but Russian vessels should pass through the Dardanelles during times of war.

Mehemet Ali now attempted to throw off the Sultan's dynasty. Sultan Abdul Mejid appealed to the Powers, and Russia, Prussia, Austria and England joined Turkey, while France joined

Egypt hoping to establish a protectorate there. ^{Sultan failed.}
 During the war which followed, the English fleet bombarded *Beyrout* and *Acre*, and the allied army defeated Egyptian troops in Syria. Mehemt Ali was compelled to sign the *Treaty of London* (1840) by which he was deprived of Syria and his power remained confined solely within Egypt. ^{Treaty of London, 1840.} By a convention of 1841, the Powers gave Turkey the sole control over the Dardanelles, and prohibited the passage of all foreign vessels through it during times of war. ^{The Straits Convention, 1841.}

The Crimean War, (1854-56) :

In 1852, Napoleon III of France, as the champion of the Latin Christians, obtained from the Sultan the custody of the Holy Places in Jerusalem. Czar Nicholas I of Russia, as the champion of the Greek Church, resented this. ^{Origin of the War.} But though this quarrel came to an end when the Sultan gave the Greek Christians the first hours of the day for worshipping before the Holy Tomb, Russia wanted to be the Protector of all Greek Christians in Turkey. As the Czar's demand was actuated by sinister motives, as could be seen from his impertinent proposal to Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador, to partition out Turkey—the 'Sick Man', the Sultan rejected the proposal. This led to the Crimean War.

In this war England and France sided with Turkey against Russia. ^{Parts taken by the European Powers.} Russia was defeated at the great battles of *Alma*, *Balaclava*, and *Inkerman* (1854). Nicholas I died with a broken heart (1855). After the memorable siege and fall of *Sebastopol* (1855), the new Czar, Alexander II, signed the *Treaty of Paris* (1856). By it the integrity of the Ottoman empire was guaranteed

Treaty of
Paris signed
by Czar
Alexander II

on condition that the Sultan should introduce reforms beneficial to his Christian subjects ; the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were made self-governing (these two states were united in 1859 to form the kingdom of Roumania under Turkey) ; the Black Sea was declared to be neutral ; the navigation on the Danube was made free ; and Russia lost her protectorate over the Danubian principalities.

Effects of
the war on
Russia.

Thus the aggrandising policy of Russia in the Balkans, and her hope of expansion towards the south received a rude shock.

Unrest in the Balkans, and the Russo-Turkish War (1877-78) :

Risings in
the Balkan
Peninsula.

When in 1870, Russia repudiated one of the Black Sea clauses of the Treaty of Paris, the Sultan neglected to carry out his promised reforms for his Christian subjects. So there took place continual unrest in the Balkan states subject to the suzerainty of the Sultan. In 1875 the peoples of Herzgovina revolted ; and in 1876 their example was followed by the Bulgarians, while Servia and Montenegro declared war on the Turks. Atrocities were committed on both sides.

Attitudes
of English
statesmen.

William Gladstone, the leading Liberal statesman in England, in a series of speeches and pamphlets, summoned the British nation to support a policy of delivering the oppressed Christians from the Sultan's control and of expelling the Turks "bag and baggage" from Europe ; while Lord Beaconsfield, the then Prime minister of England, wanted to maintain the policy of preserving the integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

But when Czar Alexander II invaded the Turkish dominions in Europe and in Asia as the champion of the oppressed Christians (1877), the English nation subscribed to the policy of Lord Beaconsfield out of admiration for the splendid heroism displayed by the Turks on the field of battle against overwhelming Russian forces, specially in connection with the defence of *Plevna*, the Turkish stronghold in the north of the Balkans. With the fall of *Plevna*, the Russians advanced upon Constantinople, and forced the Sultan to sign the *Treaty of San Stefano* (1878).

Outbreak of
the Russo-
Turkish
War, 1877.

Treaty of
San Stefano.

The Treaty of Berlin, 1878 :

As England found herself unable to approve the 'Treaty of San Stefano', a war became imminent between England and Russia. The war was however, averted when Russia agreed to England's proposal of referring the treaty to a European congress. In the congress, which met at Berlin (1878), under the presidency of Bismarck, the Powers agreed to the following terms : (1) Roumania, Servia and Montenegro were to be independent of Turkey ; (2) Bosnia and Herzegovina, though still belonging to Turkey, to be placed under Austrian administration ; (3) Russia to get some places in America, and Bessarabia on the lower Danube which she had lost in the Crimean war ; and (4) two states were created (i) Bulgaria and (ii) Roumelia, under the suzerainty of the Sultan. England by a separate treaty with Turkey obtained the control of Cyprus.

The
Eastern
Question
as settled
at the
Congress of
Berlin, 1878.

Thus, though Turkey was shorn of half her European possessions, the *Treaty of Berlin* was a great diplomatic triumph for England as no

Effects of
the treaty.

better terms could be secured for Turkey and the increasing Russian influence in the Balkans was checked ; and when Lord Beaconsfield returned to England from Berlin, he boasted that he had brought back 'peace with honour'.

The Liberal Movement in Russia :

Alexander II,
(1855-81).

His liberal
reforms.

Emanci-
pation of
the Serfs.

Outbreak of
'Nihilism'
in Russia.

Czar Alexander II, who ascended the throne during the Crimean War, gave up the narrow reactionary policy of his predecessor, and wishing to introduce the civilised ideas of Western Europe laboured for popular reforms. He reformed the administration of justice, conferred some amount of local self-government to the districts, abolished flogging in the army and sought for the education of the clergy. But his name will be ever remembered by the posterity for his great Edict of Emancipation of the *Serfs*. By his two decrees of 1858 and 1861 a large number of the *serfs* or semi-slaves residing on the crown lands as also on the lands of the nobles in Russia were granted freedom and made free proprietors of lands in return for some fixed labour or rent.

All these popular measures of the Czar raised high expectations in the minds of the educated classes, who now began to demand a constitutional form of government. When the Czar turned a deaf ear to their demands, the more radical elements gradually drifted into 'Nihilism'. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1878-79, the movement had assumed a violent phase ; assassination came to be considered as a righteous means of political reform, and many public officers were murdered as the "hell brood of despotism". Two years later, Czar Alexander fell a victim in the hands of the Nihilists.

Alexander III, son of the murdered Czar, Alexander III (1881-94), adopted a strongly repressive and persecuting policy, muzzled the press (1884) and banned the writings of such authors as Huxley, Spencer, Lyell, Adam Smith etc. Nicholas II, who succeeded Alexander, pursued an equal policy of absolutism and repression but prompted by noble sentiments and genuine humanitarian feelings called upon the governments of Europe having representatives in his court to meet in a conference "to consider means of ensuring the general peace of the world and of putting a limit to the progressive increase of armaments which weigh upon all nations." Accordingly in 1899 a *Convention* met at the *Hague* in the Netherlands and a permanent International Court of Arbitration was set up for the settlement of future inter-state disputes. But this noble attempt of the Czar has proved a failure as is evidenced from the present '*Great War*.' The noble Czar had joined the allies in the present conflict, promised self-government to his Polish subjects, but he has since been deposed by a sudden revolution and lately murdered. The Romanoff family has practically become extinct. Anarchy is now the chief feature of the Russian politics.

Alexander III
(1881-94).

Nicholas II,
(1894-1918).

The
International
convention
at the
Hague,
1899.

The Eastern Question still an open one :

"The Treaty of Berlin was a compromise, and like all compromises, pregnant with future troubles." In 1885 Eastern Roumelia was united to Bulgaria which declared itself an independent kingdom (1911); and Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908). During the recent Balkan Wars (1912-13) a fresh rearrangement of territory in the Near East took

The read-
justments in
the Balkan
Peninsula
since the
Treaty of
Berlin.

place, a new province of Albania was created and Turkey now retained practically all Thrace east of the Maritza and a semi-circle of territory west of it as a 'glacis' for Adrianople fortress. England abandoned her former policy of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and adopted a new policy which was pronounced by Sir Edward Grey thus—'no one would be disposed to dispute the right of the Balkan states to formulate, when they pleased, the terms upon which they would be disposed to conclude peace.' Germany, 'whose eyes had for years been fixed on the undeveloped wealth of Asia Minor', has since the Treaty of Berlin slowly come into the competition for the inheritance of the East, and has brought Turkey under her complete control, the result of which is to be noticed in the present '*Great War*'.

The
Eastern
Question
re-opened
in the
present
'Great War.'

CHAPTER VI.

European Politics at the Close of the Nineteenth Century.

The Expansion of Europe :

During the last few decades of the 19th century, the great European Powers began to devote their attentions chiefly towards the expansion of their empires by founding new colonies outside Europe. This idea of *colonial expansion* had originated with Portugal and Spain in the 15th century, was continued by them till they did not become internally weak, and was eagerly taken up by Holland, France and England. The reasons for this revived interest in the colonies in the 19th century are to be found in the rapid increase of the people of the European stock, the industrial revolution in England which transformed the industrial life of the advanced European nations and impelled traders to seek new markets for their goods, and the passion for imperial riches and power created on occasions of Queen Victoria's Golden and Diamond Jubilees in 1887 and 1897 in the minds of the witnessing nations of Europe. In this colonial race extending over four centuries, England however has taken the lead in the long run and come to be recognised as a *world-power*, extending her dominions over the continents of America, Asia, Africa and the islands of Australia and others. France, in spite of her great colonial set-back in the 18th

The policy of colonial expansion outside Europe as adopted by the leading Powers of Europe : its reasons.

Expansions of England, France, and Germany.

The
'Scramble
for Africa'

century, did not stop short of her colonial ambitions and since 1830 began to extend her dominion over a portion of Northern Africa besides retaining her possessions in Asia. Since their unifications, the kingdoms of Germany and Italy took a part in the colonial game with England and France to satisfy their national prides, and during the 'Scramble for Africa' at the close of the 19th century they occupied portions of East and West Africa.

Expansion
of Russia
in the East.

But the greatest rival of England for world-empire is Russia, who is gradually absorbing eastern and central Asia till she has reached the Chinese wall on the east, the Himalayas on the south and extended her influence over Persia. Hence at the very close of the 19th century England attempted to secure the co-operation of Germany to check Russia's designs by an agreement with her but failed. Again this outward movement of the great European powers has brought forward before them a new problem viz. "what shall be done with the 'Sick man' of the Farther East". The weakness of China in the Farther East as revealed in her war with awakened Japan in 1895, as also her undeveloped resources roused the avidity of the European powers and the 'Scramble for China' began.

The
'Scramble
for China'.

Probable
European-
isation of
the world;
—Solution
of the
problem.

Thus we find that the great European nations, "increasing wonderfully in numbers are filling the earth with their progeny" and trying to Europeanise the world. A real crisis has come, and no one knows where the solution lies. But in the words of Professor Reinsch, "The whole cast of thought that characterizes the West, its ideals and principles, may be modified by the intimate contact with the Orient into

which it is now brought by imperial expansion" : and if that be accomplished, through the grace of Providence, a fresh impulse will be given to the true progress of humanity.

The Political Affinities of the Great European Powers :

On the continent however, a coolness had sprung up between Russia and Germany since the Treaty of Berlin in which the latter did not sufficiently support Russian interests. So Germany, as has been noticed, to maintain her position on the continent acquired in the Franco-Prussian War, entered into a defensive alliance with Austria and Italy, known as the *Triple Alliance*, and France, whose position had been isolated since that war, gradually won over the Czar to enter into a *Dual Alliance* with her (1894). These two important alliances for maintaining the *status quo* on the continent had exerted enormous influence in settling the political affinities of the great European Powers at the close of the 19th century.

The two Alliances of the European Powers to settle political affinities among them.

Birth of the Age of Industrial Democracy :

The rapid industrial developments in Europe that took place after the Congress of Vienna, the inventions of the steam railway, the electrical telegraph, the ocean steamship, and the telephone brought about momentous changes in the social and political life of Europe. People of the various civilized parts of the world now meet together, exchange their ideas, familiarise themselves with new scenes and different forms of society and belief, which make them more liberal and tolerant. The enormous augmen-

The new industrial developments as leading to—
(i) Liberalisation of human minds :

(ii) The
labour-
problem.

The
Social
Democrats
and their
views of the
labour-
problem.

tation in the power of production has raised the problem of an equitable distribution of the products of the world's industry. Why should not the 'labouring classes' share proportionately with the 'Capitalists' in the material well-being of the society according to labour be formed ; why should the masses remain practically excluded from the benefits and enjoyments of the fortunate few ? A solution of the problem has been offered by the 'Socialists' or '*Social Democrats*' who fill the European countries in large numbers now a days. They maintain that the present exploitation of labour by capital should be done away with by the state-control of all the means of production, viz. the railways, the telegraph, the mines, mills, factories, forests, the land, in short, all those things upon which human labour is spent to meet the human wants. The democratization of wealth, according to them, will lead to a millennium in the world, and is sure to come as the next phase of the progressive course of civilisation.

The Great War of 1914 : An Outcome of the European Policy at the Close of the Nineteenth Century :

Root-cause
of the
present
European
conflict.

Being largely outstripped in her colonial race of expansion *outside* Europe by the leading powers of England, France, and Russia, at the close of the 19th century, Germany, with the rapid growth of her population, industries and wealth, sought for securing a predominance in Europe both commercially and politically. She went on strengthening her Navy and increasing her armaments to a menacing extent, and her long-accumulated military energy and restive-

ness suddenly exploded in the present 'Great War', with an utter disregard to the principles of International morality and menacing the independence of the lesser states of Europe. The wrongs done to Belgium are still fresh in our memories (*Vide Bk. V. Ch. I. p. 305*).

At the outbreak of the hostilities, England could not but join her hands with France and Russia to check the intense *militarism* of the Kaiser, William II, who has thus disturbed the peace of Europe, and wishes to play the rôle of a second Napoleon in the 20th century. Even Italy who had been in alliance (*Triple Alliance*) with Germany, as already noticed, since 1882, could not brook the wrongs done by her to the cause of humanity and progress and joined the allies in the great struggle. The Asiatic state of Japan has also proved to be a faithful ally. The German Empire is now in the melting-pot ; and England has also called upon the great Democracy of the New World to chastise the barbarous enemies to human progress and civilisation, properly and rightly, and thereby to save the cause of Freedom, so that the minor nationalities in and outside Europe, may freely exercise the 'right of self-determination'—for,

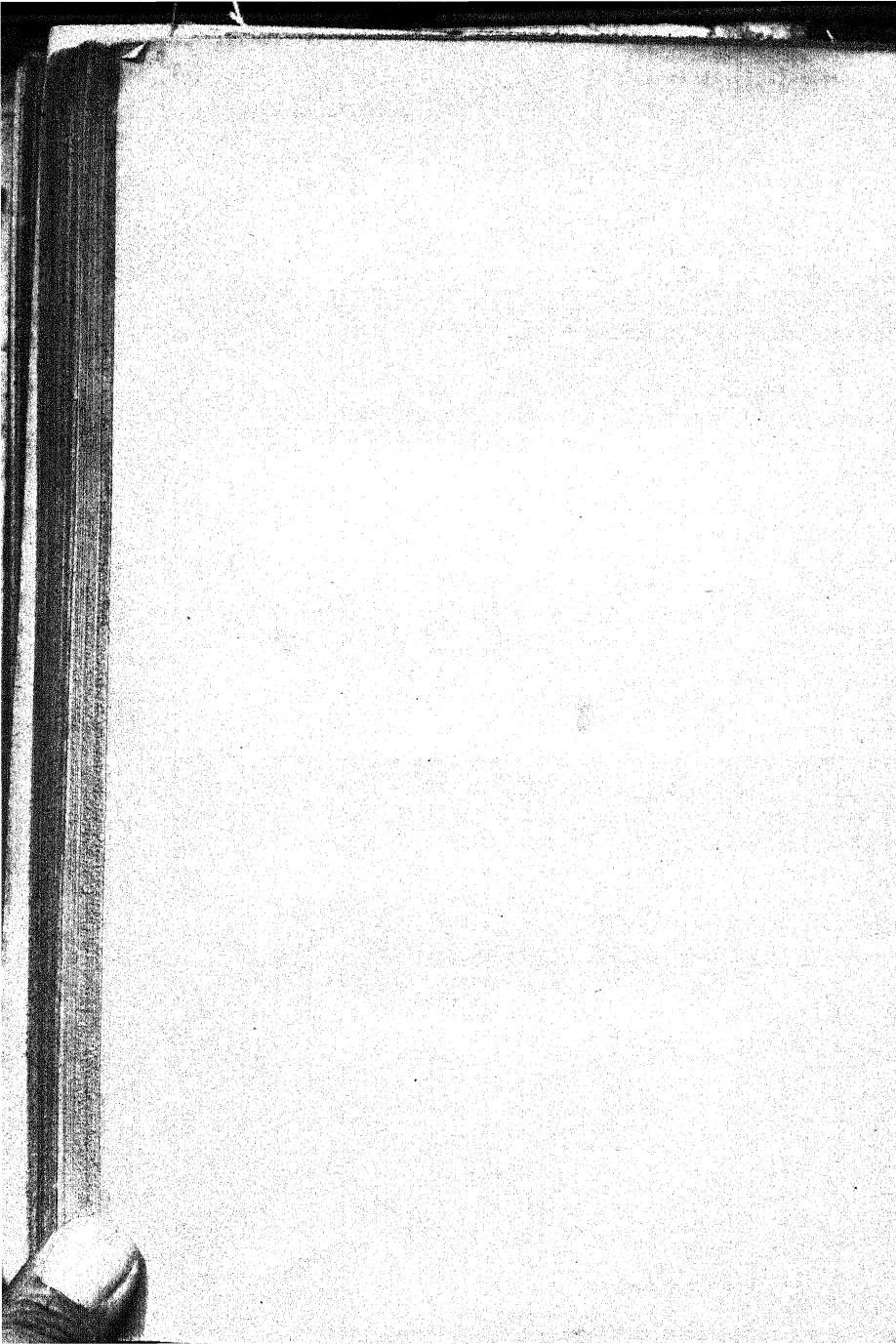
Why
England
has joined
the war
against
Germany?

The
German
Empire
in the
melting-pot.

"Who Lives If Freedom Falls?

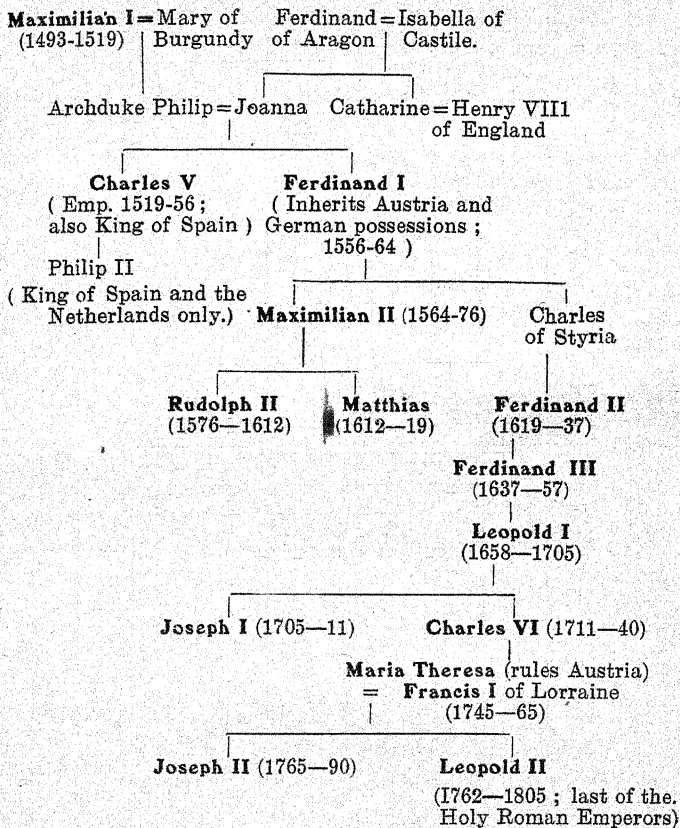
"Who Dies If England Lives?"

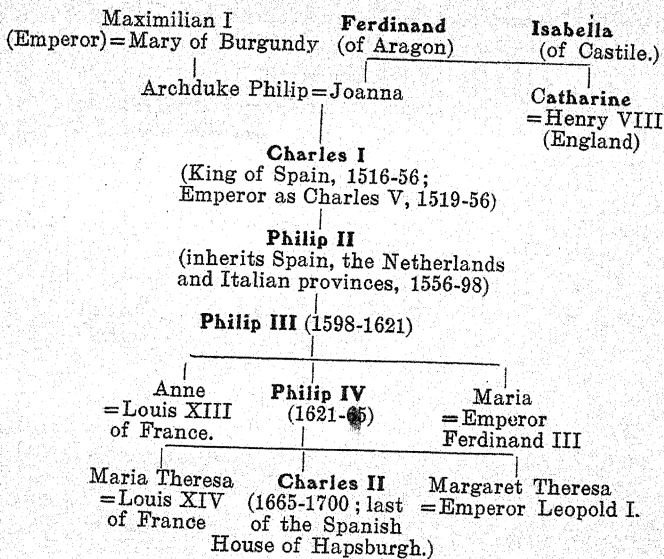
—KIPLING.



1. The Empire.

The Houses of Hapsburg and Hapsburg-Lorraine.

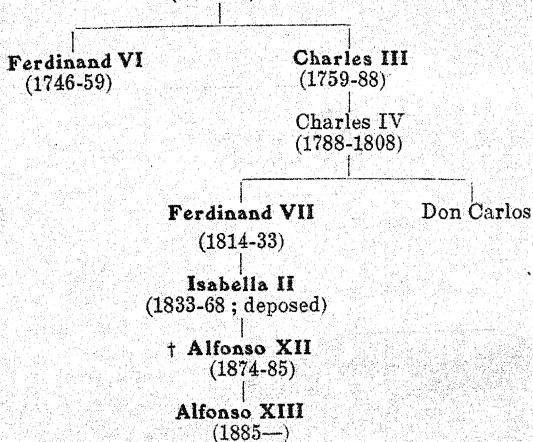


*II. Spain.***I. The House of Hapsburgh (Spanish Branch.)**

II. Spain.—(Contd.)

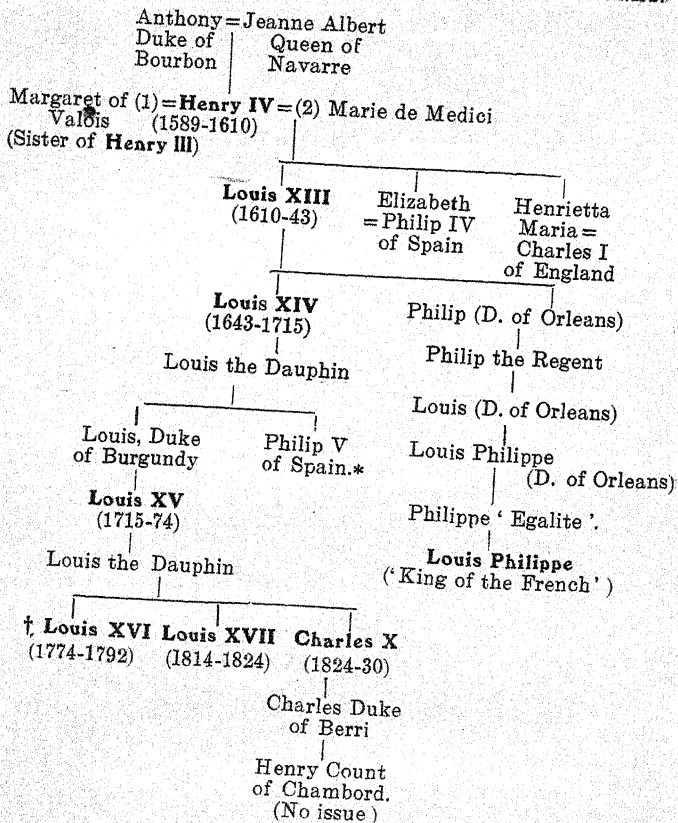
2. The House of Bourbon (Spanish Branch.)

* Philip V (Grand-son of Louis XIV of France)
(1700-46)



* For the French House of Bourbons, see the next Table.

† From 1868-74 a rapid succession of revolutionary governments took place.

III. France.**The Houses of Bourbon and Bourbon-Orleans.**

* For the Spanish Bourbons, see the previous Table.

† From 1792-1814, the French Revolution and the ascendancy of Napoleon took place.

IV. Prussia and Germany.**The House of Hohenzollern.**

John Sigismund
 Elector of Brandenburg
 (acquired the Duchy of
 Prussia, 1618)

George William (1619-40)

Frederick William
 the Great Elector (1640-88)

Frederick I.
 King in Prussia (1688-1713)

Frederick II.
 The Great (1740-86)

August William

Frederick William II (1786-97)

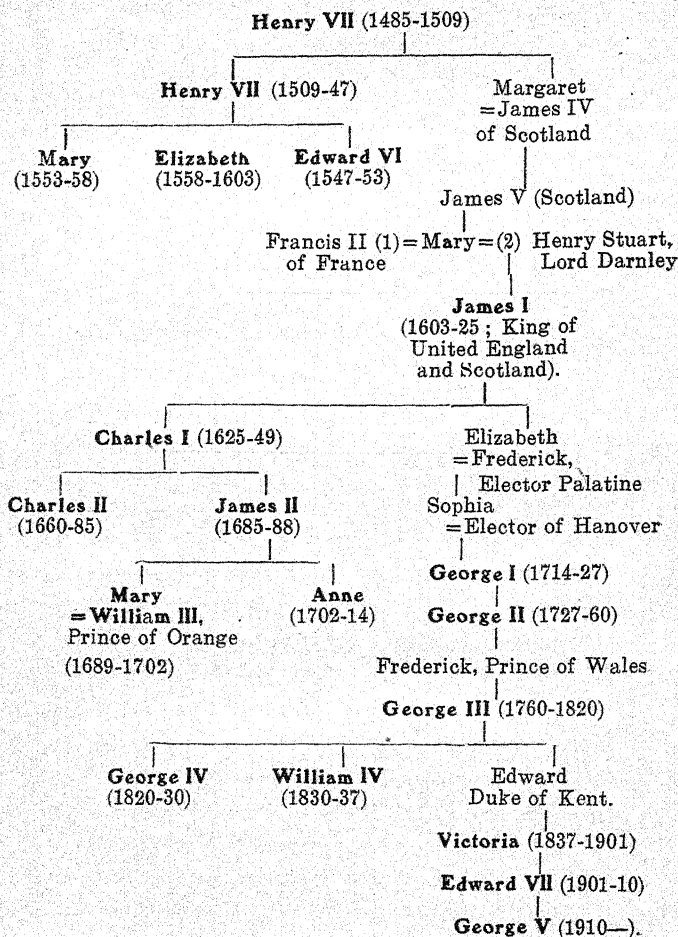
Frederick William III (1797-1840)

Frederick William IV
 (1840-61)

William I (1861-88 ; becomes
 German Emperor
 in 1871).

Frederick III (1888)

William II (1888—)

V. England.**The Houses of Tudor, Stuart and Hanover.**

QUESTIONS FOR EXERCISES.

Introduction.

1. Why is the capture of Constantinople by the Turks regarded as opening a new era in history? Can you suggest any other dates from which Modern Europe may be said to have begun? [C. U. 1916, Hon.]
2. Give a summary of the results of the fall of Constantinople. [C. U. 1910, 1912, Pass.]
3. Distinguish the Modern from the Mediæval History of Europe in regard to her political and social conditions. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]
4. Give some account of the influence of the great geographical discoveries upon the European nations. [C. U. 1911, Hon.]

BOOK I.

5. Give some account of the government and policy of Venice towards the close of the 15th Century, and account for the decay and fall of the Republic. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]
6. Sketch the attempt of Cæsar Borgia to unify Italy. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]
7. Give a short history of Florence under the Medici with special reference to their domestic and foreign policy. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]
8. What were the impediments to German political unity in the latter half of the 15th Century and how far they

were removed by (a) the Swabian league and (b) the reforms of Emperor Maximilian?

✓ 9. Give some account of the reign of Emperor Maximilian. [C. U. 1911, Pass.]

10. What do you understand by Burgundy? Briefly sketch the struggle between Charles the Bold of Burgundy and Louis XI of France. In what respects does the reign of Louis mark an epoch in the history of French monarchy? [C. U. 1911, 1913, 1917, Pass.]

11. Explain the importance of the family alliances of Ferdinand the Catholic in promoting the unity of Spain and its development as a European power. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

✓ 12. Give some account of the policy of Henry VII of England, and compare him with Louis XI of France. [C. U. 1910, Hon.]

13. Give some account (with a sketch-map) of Italy at the time of Charles VII's invasion. [C. U. 1910, Pass.]

14. Sketch the history of the French in Italy during the reigns of Charles VIII, Louis XII and Francis I. [C. U. 1911, 1915, Pass.]

BOOK II.

15. Give a brief sketch of the struggle between Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France.

16. Account for the expulsion of Francis I from Italy. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

17. Sketch the character of Francis I, and show how it affected the history of France. [C. U. 1918, Hon.]

18. Relate briefly the rivalry between France and the House of the Hapsburgs between 1516-59, and mention in this connection the importance of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis.

19. Give some account of the history of the Spaniards in Italy from 1504 onwards. [C. U. 1912, Hon.]

✓ 20. What events led to Luther's breaking with the Roman church? Sketch his character and career. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

21. What was the Confession of Augsburg? Show how the Reform movement in Germany assumed a political character in the League of Schmalkalde?

22. Give short but clear explanations of—

(a) Diet of Worms ; (b) the League of Schmalkalde ; (c) Augsburg Interim ; (d) Calvinism. [C. U. 1913, Pass.]

23. What was the Schmalkaldic War? Attempt an estimate of the character and work of Maurice of Saxony. [C. U. 1909, Hon.; 1917, Pass.]

24. Briefly narrate the works of Ulrich Zwingle in Switzerland.

25. Indicate the political tendencies of Calvin's system of teaching as contrasted with those of Luther. Contrast Calvin's ecclesiastical system with that of Ignatius Loyola. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

26. Say how "the Scandinavian Reformation was essentially a political movement."

27. Give a summary of the history of the House of Vasa in Scandinavia till the death of Gustavus Adolphus. [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

✓ 28. Attempt an estimate of the character and work of Gustavus Adolphus. [C. U. 1916, Hon.]

29. Mark the different steps that led to the separation of the English church from the church of Rome, and mention the part played by Wolsey in effecting it.

30. Give the ecclesiastical policy of Elizabeth and the

measures adopted by her for the settlement of the Anglican Church.

31. Sketch in outline the struggle between England and Spain in the days of Elizabeth. [C. U. 1910, Pass.]

32. Narrate the part played by John Knox in the religious history of Scotland.

33. What do you know about the Reform movements in—(a) Poland, (b) Italy, (c) Spain and Portugal, and (d) the Netherlands.

34. What do you know of the Counter-Reformation? [C. U. 1911, Hon.]

35. 'Caraffa (Paul IV) undertook to save the Church through the Papacy'. Indicate the methods inaugurated by him for this purpose. [C. U. 1916, Pass.]

36. In what capacity did Charles V rule his various dominions, and with what difficulties had he to contend in each part of the same? [C. U. 1914, Pass.] (*For answer refer to Q. 11, 15, 19, and 33 (d).*)

37. In what way did the character of Charles V influence the history of Spain and Germany? [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

38. Sketch the career of Philip II of Spain. [C. U. 1915, Pass.]

39. How far was the revolt of the Netherlands due to causes other than religious? Give an estimate of the services of William the Silent (Prince of Orange) in the cause of Dutch independence. [C. U. 1916, Hon.; 1917, Pass.]

40. 'Charles V was like the Tudors ; Philip II, like the Stuarts.' Explain this, and illustrate it especially from the history of the Netherlands during the two reigns. [C. U. 1918, Hon.]

41. Sketch the reign of Philip IV of Spain, and account for the rapid decay of the Spanish empire. [C. U. 1910, Hon.; 1910, 1917, Pass.]

42. 'Francis I was the originator of the traditionary French policy afterwards so successfully followed by Richelieu, of being Protestant abroad and Catholic at home'. Explain and illustrate this statement. [C. U. 1909, Hon.]

43. To what extent did the policy and example of Francis I affect the subsequent history of the French monarchy? [C. U. 1916, Hon.].

44. Who were the Guises? Give some account of them in the 16th Century. [C. U. 1911, Pass; 1909 Hon.]

45. Trace briefly the history of the (Catholic) League in France. Describe the character of the statesmanship of Henry IV of France. [C. U. 1916 Pass.]

46. Describe the circumstances which led to the accession of Henry of Navarre to the French throne. Discuss the merits of the economic and financial reforms of the Duke of Sully. [C. U. 1918 Pass.]

47. What difficulties other than religious, confronted Henry IV in 1598? Write a sketch of the reign of Henry IV of France. [C. U. 1914 Pass; 1913 Pass.]

48. What were the causes of the Thirty Years' War Trace the parts played in it by (1) Gustavus Adolphus, (2) Wallenstein and (3) Mansfeld respectively. Describe the aims of the persons who played the chief parts in the Thirty Years' War. [C. U. 1910, 1911, 1912, Pass; 1918, Hon.]

49. What were the main provisions of the Peace which concluded the Thirty Years' War? What were the

results of the war (a) on Germany and (b) on Europe? Explain the importance of the Treaty of Westphalia. [C. U. 1909, 1911, 1916, Pass, 1916, Hon.]

✓ 50. Describe the map of Europe in 1648. [C. U. 1909, 1913 Pass.] (*For answer refer to Q. 49.*)

51. "The Ottoman Empire attained the zenith of its greatness under Solymán the Magnificent"; give a sketch of the history of his reign. [C. U. 1909 Hon.]

52. Mark the chief stages in the progress of the Turkish power from the capture of Belgrade by Solymán in 1521 to the Battle of Lepanto (1571). Draw a sketch-map to indicate the extent of the Turkish empire towards the close of the 16th century. [C. U. 1916 Hon.]

BOOK III.

53. Write an account of the main issue between the King and the Parliament in the days of Charles I of England. [C. U. 1911 Pass.]

54. Mention the circumstances that led to the meeting of the Long Parliament in England, and give the various remedial measures passed by it.

55. What were the main outlines of the European politics at the death of Charles I of England? How did his execution affect matters? [C. U. 1912 Hon.]

56. Sketch the foreign policy of England during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate.

57. Show how Protestantism was suppressed as a political force in France by Cardinal Richelieu. Characterise his domestic administration and give an estimate of his foreign policy.

58. Write a short history of the Fronde. [C. U. 1910

Hon.] ; indicate the part played by the Parliament of Paris in it.

59. Write a sketch of the life and policy of Mazarin. [C. U. 1911 Hon.]

60. By what measures did the *Great Cardinals* consolidate and strengthen the French monarchy? Give a brief estimate of the financial reforms of Colbert. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

61. Sketch the character of Louis XIV. [C. U. 1916 Pass.]

62. Sketch the foreign policy of Louis XIV up to the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle (1668). [C. U. 1912 Pass.]

63. Give the relations between Charles II of England and Louis XIV of France.

64. Sketch the history of the relations between Louis XIV and Holland from the formation of the Triple Alliance to the Peace of Ryswick.

65. Sketch the history of the War of the Spanish Succession. [C. U. 1915 Pass.]

66. What were the main causes of the English Revolution of 1688? Estimate its effects on the European situation. [C. U. 1909 Hon., 1912 Hon. 1913 Pass.]

67. Give a general sketch of the political divisions of Europe as settled by the Treaty of Utrecht. [C. U. 1909 Pass.]

68. Trace the advances towards the East and North-East made by France from 1476 to 1682. [C. U. 1918, Hon.]

69. Sketch the history of the Turks from the death of Solymán the Magnificent to the battle of St. Gothard (1664). [C. U. 1912 Hon.] [For answer see pp. 121, 157.]

70. "The second seige of Vienna (1683) is a memorable event in the history of Europe'. Explain why it is so, and sketch the history of Austria, Hungary and Turkey up to the battle of Zenta. [C. U. 1912, Hon.]

71. Briefly sketch the history of the Turkish power from the death of Solymán the Magnificent to the Treaty of Carlowitz, and indicate the causes of its decay. [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

72. Give some account of the rise of Russia up to the death of Peter the Great. What do you know of the foreign and domestic policy of Peter the Great. [C. U. 1913, Pass ; 1909, Hon.]

73. Compare the aims and careers of Peter the Great and Charles XII of Sweden. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

74. Estimate the work of Peter the Great, illustrating your answer from the history of his reign. How far may Peter the the Great be regarded as the 'Creator of Modern Russia'? [C. U. 1916, 1918, Pass.]

75. Give a sketch of the h'istory of Russia from the accession of Peter the Great to the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748). [C. U. 1912 Pass.]

76. Give a short account of the Northern kingdoms of Europe at the accession of Charles X of Sweden. Give some account of his reign. [C. U. 1911 Hon ; 1912, Pass.]

77. Write a life of Charles XII of Sweden. Compare Charles XII and Peter the Great as generals and statesmen. [C. U. 1909, 1918 Pass.]

78. Sketch the history of Russia from the death of Peter to that of Catharine the Great.

79. Form a comparative estimate of the services

rendered to Russia by Peter the Great and Catharine II. [C. U. 1916 Hon.]

80. Distinguish between Whigs and Tories. Give some account of the foreign and domestic policy of the Whigs in the 18th century. Sketch the foreign policy of Walpole. [C. U. 1909, 1911 Pass.]

81. Dwell on the growth of the Cabinet government in England under the first two Georges.

82. Write brief notes on Alberoni. [C. U. 1910 Pass]. What were the plans of Alberoni? Give some account of the European situation at the time of his fall. [C. U. 1911 Hon].

83. Give some account of the social condition of France under the Regency. [C. U. 1912 Hon]. Write notes on the foreign policy of the Regency.

84. Give some indications of the rising importance of colonial and maritime questions during the first half of the 18th century [C. U. 1913 Pass].

85. Sketch the administrative careers of Cardinal Fleury and Choiseul.

86. Give some account of the constitution and the political divisions of the Empire at the accession of Charles VI. [C. U. 1910 Hon].

87. Write short notes on—(a) Gorz, (b) William Pitt, the Elder, (c) Ripperda, (d) Sobieski, and (e) Kosciusko.

88. What various motives led to the treaty of Belgrade, and what were its terms? [C. U. 1914 Pass].

89. Give an account of Austrian foreign policy from 1720 to the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. [C. U. 1918, Hon].

90. Give a sketch of the career and policy of Kaunitz-
[C. U. 1910 Hon].

91. What do you know of the reforms of Emperor Joseph II? How far were they successful? Explain the causes of his failure. [C. U. 1909 Hon ; 1914 Pass ; 1916 Pass].

92. Give the foreign policy of Joseph II, and make an estimate of his work.

93. What was the Eastern Question? Give some account of its origin and show its importance in the years 1786-92. [C. U. 1911, Hon].

94. Write a brief account of the rise of Prussia up to the accession of Frederick the Great. [C. U. 1909, 1911, 1915 Pass].

95. Outline the policy, domestic and foreign, of the Great Elector. [C. U. 1914, Pass.]

96. Write a short account of Frederick the Great ; what did he do for Prussia? [C. U. 1913 Pass].

97. Briefly describe the parts played by (a) the Great Elector, and (b) Frederick the Great in the organization of the German empire. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

98. Give a sketch of the character of Frederick the Great. Estimate his abilities as a general and a ruler [C. U. 1912 Pass].

99. Sketch the history of the War of the Austrian Succession ; what effects did the war have on (a) Austria, (b) Prussia and (c) France?

100. Sketch the character of Frederick the Great, and write a short history of his reign from the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. [C. U. 1914, Hon].

101. Show the importance of the Seven Years' War

and give the main particulars of the peace which ended it. [C. U. 1911 Pass].

102. Who were the Jesuits? What do you know of their history from their foundation till the bull of Pope Clement XIV regarding them. [C. U. 1912, Hon]. (*For answer See pp. 74-75, 108, 213-215*).

103. Write short notes on Pombal [C. U. 1910 Pass].

104. What do you know of the state of Poland before the Partitions? Give an account of the several partitions of Poland. What were the causes or the motives for those partitions? [C. U. 1910, 1912, 1915, Pass].

105. Sketch the history of Poland from the beginning of the 18th century to the final partition. [C. U. 1913 Pass].

106. Sketch the events that led to the first Partition of Poland and estimate how far each of the partitioning Powers was responsible for the events. [C. U. 1914 Pass].

107. What led to the First Partition of Poland? How far was it due to internal anarchy, how far to the ambition of foreign powers? [C. U. 1918 Pass].

108. How the first Partition of Poland did affect the relative position of Russia and Prussia? [C. U. 1916, Hon].

BOOK IV.

109. Describe France before the Revolution. How far were the evils, which then existed, remedied? [C. U. 1911 Pass].

110. What were the main causes of the French Revolution. [C. U. 1909 Pass].

111. How far did the 'philosopher kings and states-

men' of the 18th century in Europe anticipate the work of the French Revolution? [C. U. 1916 Hon].

112. Give some account of the French system of government before the Revolution. How, briefly, does it compare with that which we find under the first Empire? [C. U. 1912 Pass].

113. "The French Revolution destroyed feudalism, which had provoked it." Criticise the statement.

114. What were the abuses in France in the time of Turgot? By what measures did he attempt to save the French monarchy, and why did he fail? [C. U. 1909, 1917 Pass].

115. What led to the meeting of the States-General? Describe the character of the assembly and show how it changed into the National Assembly of France?

116. What was the Constituent Assembly? Indicate the main lines on which it proceeded to reorganise the society and government in France.

117. Form an estimate of the character and aims of Mirabeau, and account for his failure to realize his ideal.

118. Trace the history of the French Revolution from the assembling of the States-General to (a) the end of the Monarchy, or (b) the death of Louis XVI. [C. U. 1912 Pass, 1916 Pass].

119. Compare the principle and policy of the Girondists with those of the Jacobins, and account for the fall of the Girondist party. [C. U. 1916 Hon].

120. Write a short history of the Girondins. [C. U. 1910 Hon].

121. Write a short history of the doings of the Convention in the French Revolution. [C. U. 1911 Hon].

122. What were the main outlines of the constitution of 1791 in France? Compare it with that of 1795. [C. U. 1909 Hon].

123. Examine the statement—"Louis XVI perished the victim of passions which he did not share." What were the immediate results of the execution of Louis XVI?

124. Trace the history of the French Revolution from the death of Louis XVI to the *Coup d'etat* of the 18th Brumaire. [C. U. 1913 Pass].

125. Narrate the part played by Robespierre in the history of the French Revolution and make an estimate of him.

126. What do you know of the Thermidorian reaction in France?

127. Why did the French invade Italy in 1796? Give an account of their policy there down to 1815. [C. U. 1910 Pass].

128. Discuss Napoleon's account of the outbreak of war in 1803 and the breach of the Peace of Amiens. [C. U. 1918 Hon].

129. State the circumstances that led to the establishment of the Consulate in France. Give a brief account of the internal administration and the foreign policy of the Consulate.

130. Examine the statement, "By the end of 1802 the government of France had become practically monarchical ; a change of title was needed to put an end to the Republic."

131. "The Continental system is the most stupendous proof of Napoleon's incapacity as a statesman." What

was the Continental system and what were its effects on the Napoleonic Empire?

132. Describe briefly the Peninsular War. Name in order of date the chief battles fought in its course. Show the importance of the war. [C. U. 1909, 1916 Pass].

133. Show by a sketch-map the extent of the French Empire in 1810. [C. U. 1909 Hon].

134. What do you know about the Russian disaster of Napoleon, and show how it proved fatal to him after all.

135. What were the questions settled in the Congress of Vienna? How far were these settlements permanent? [C. U. 1915 Pass].

136. Illustrate, from the leading events in the career of Napoleon from the rupture of the Peace of Amiens to the Battle of Waterloo, the causes of the downfall of his power. [C. U. 1917 Pass].

137. Characterize in some detail the Napoleonic system of government, and show that it was but a survival of the old régime of France. [C. U. 1918 Pass].

138. Explain the character and importance of the reforms effected in Prussia after the battle of Jena by Stein and his colleagues. [C. U. 1918 Pass].

139. Briefly describe the part played by Stein in the organisation of the German Empire. [C. U. 1917 Pass].

140. "The deepest cause which made the French Revolution so disastrous to liberty was its theory of Equality." Explain fully. [C. U. 1912 Hon].

141. How much of the work accomplished in the first two and a half years of the French Revolution can be considered permanent? [C. U. 1918 Hon].

142. What do you consider to be the general results of the French Revolution?

Book V.

143. What were the original aims of the Holy Alliance and what were its subsequent developments? [C. U. 1914 Pass].

144. Give some account of the life and policy of Metternich. [C. U. 1910 Pass].

145. Explain the statement—"The government of the Holy Alliance devoted themselves to suppress with equal care the revolutionary spirit by which they had been threatened and the national spirit by which they had been restored." [C. U. 1912 Pass].

146. Give a short history of the Holy Alliance, and contrast the policy of Canning with that of Metternich in European affairs. [C. U. 1918 Hon].

147. State the circumstances that led to the independence of Greece.

148. Sketch the advance of Russia from the death of Peter the Great to the treaty of Adrianople (1829). [C. U. 1910 Hon].

149. Mention the circumstances that led to the July Revolution of 1830 in France ; and indicate its effects on the other European countries.

150. Write a history of the Revolution of 1848 in France. Show how it led to the establishment of the Empire by Napoleon III. [C. U. 1910 Pass].

151. Sketch the events of the year 1848 in Europe. [C. U. 1911, 1916 Pass].

152. What were the causes of the various revolutions

of 1848? In what instances can those revolutions be said to have been successful? [C. U. 1913, Pass.]

153. Compare the Revolutions of 1848 with those of 1830. State the events which led to the foundation of the Second Empire in France. [C. U. 1910 Hon., 1914 Pass].

154. "The history of France under Napoleon III, as under Napoleon I, is the history of every country in Europe except France". Explain and illustrate. [C. U. 1912, Hon].

155. Describe the activities of Napoleon III from 1856 to 1870. [C. U. 1918, Hon].

156. Trace the history of the political reforms in England since 1815, and give the measures that led to religious equality there.

157. Give a history of the Irish Home Rule movement and of the British colonial expansion in the Nineteenth century.

158. Trace the growth of Italian Unity from 1815 [C. U. 1909, 1913, 1915 Pass].

159. Give some account of Cavour. [C. U. 1910 Pass, 1911 Hon, 1912 Pass]. Criticise his career and policy. How far in your opinion, was he the creator of united Italy? [C. U. 1916 Pass].

160. Who were the makers of Italian unity? Mark the steps by which the unification of Italy was accomplished. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

161. What do you know of the Schleswig-Holstein question? [C. U. 1912 Hon].

162. Give the history of Austria-Hungary after the battle of Sadowa explaining incidentally the international aspect of the 'Dualism' as prevails there.

163. What were the causes of the Franco-Prussian War on the French side? [C. U. 1918, Pass.]

164. Briefly describe the parts played by (a) Stein, and (b) Bismarck in the organization of the German Empire. [C. U. 1917, Pass.]

165. Mention the policy of the European Powers as regards the Eastern Question, since the Peace of Adrianople. What settlements were arrived at in the Congress of Berlin (1878) and say how far they were final?

166. Give a history of Russia since the French Revolution.

167. Write short essays on—

(a) The extent to which the Renaissance affected the nations of Europe ; (b) Growth of the British Empire from 1600 to 1878 ; (c) Napoleon's continental system ; (d) Importance of Spain in Modern History ; (e) Belgium is the battle-field of Europe ; (f) Lessons to be learned from the history of Italy in the 19th century and (g) Growth of the idea of *Nationality* in Europe in the 19th century.

168. Write full notes on—

(1) Swabian League ; (2) *Janissaries* ; (3) Letters of Indulgences ; (4) the Inquisition ; (5) the Council of Blood ; (6) the Guises ; (7) the *League* (France) ; (8) the Whigs ; (9) *'Bed of Justice* ; (10) Chambers of Reunion ; (11) *Pragmatic Sanction* ; (12) The States-General ; (13) Committee of Public Safety ; (14) Continental System ; (15) Holy Alliance ; (16) Sonderbund ; (17) Vorparlament and (18) Zollverein.

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OPINIONS.

I

Prof. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, M.A., P.R.S., Assistant to the Carmichael Professor of History, Calcutta University, and University Examiner in History writes—

"I have looked into 'Outlines of Modern Europe' by Prof. D. N. Dutta, M.A., B.L. It aims to give in a short compass a connected outline of the history of Europe during the period 1453-1900. The book is written on a *good plan*, and no important topics are left untouched. I believe it will be of great help to students reading the history of Europe for the B. A. examination. The get-up of the book is excellent and the price very moderate."

II

Prof. Nripendranath Dutta, M.A. of A. M. College, Mymensingh, *formerly* of the Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta, writes—

Prof. D. N. Dutta, M.A., B.L., has published a small volume on Modern Europe which, coming as it does from an author of his reputation, will not, I hope, fail to attract the attention of the reading public. The book supplies us with every information which our students may require for passing their examinations. One attractive feature of the book is that the author has incorporated into it the principal epochs of English History also. I wish Prof. Dutt every success."

III

Mr. Gouranga Nath Bonnerjee, M.A., P.R.S., (Lond.), F.R.S.A., Fellow of the Oriental Society, England, Member of the Egyptian Association, Manchester, Asst. Professor of History Calcutta University, &c., writes—

"I have read with great pleasure Prof. D. N. Dutt's 'Outlines of Modern Europe'. The book seems to be prepared on a *novel plan*, and will *fully meet* the wants of those for whom it is intended. It is written in a graceful style and with much accurate information as regards dates and events. Prof. Dutta has very nicely put such a vast amount of facts in his little volume. As it is, I wish him every success in his literary career."